The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE sudden death of King George VI stirred the whole nation and, indeed, the whole Commonwealth to more than conventional mourning for the passing of a good king. He had won for himself a place in the hearts of his people as well as in their dutiful respect. The dignity that was without stiffness, the courage that was not less real for being unspectacular, the determination in service which had grown with his opportunities, these had revealed themselves increasingly throughout his reign. He did not lose the friendliness of his princely interests when he ascended the throne. His Christmas broadcasts made him welcome in all our homes. This was a king bound up in the bundle of life with us, and at his sudden death a great multitude discovered that they were bound up with him.

Mr. Churchill seizing upon the symbolism of kingship in our modern State said with great truth, "When the death of the King was announced to us there struck a deep and solemn note in our lives. . . . A new sense of values took possession of human minds, and mortal existence presented itself to so many at the same moment in its serenity and in its sorrow, in its splendour and its pain, in its fortitude and in its suffering".

> The glories of our blood and State
> Are shadows, not substantial things:
> There is no armour against fate.
> Death lays his icy hand on Kings.

But it was John Donne who put into words what we all felt that day. "No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend's or thine own were. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in all mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls: it tolls for thee".

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The public ceremonial, the national memorial services, the sound and television programmes and the Press notices were, with

one or two exceptions, worthy expressions of the emotions of the nation. In England we are singularly blessed by the happy accident which unites the monarchy with a continuing tradition of medieval pageantry, which has none of the crude vulgarity of the demonstrations staged by the Nazis, nor is nakedly military like the Russian; and medieval England, though it had as strong a sense of community as those who nowadays talk so much about it, never lost the sense of the individual man alone in the hand of God. They never forgot, even of anointed kings, that

'As gods they were, as men they died'.

They were less strange than we in those areas of the human spirit where the writ of rationalism does not run.

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But these ceremonies of national mourning might have been lighted by a stronger beam of the light of our Christian hope. When we Christians think of our beloved dead we do not only mourn. 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ', cried St. Paul, 'we are of all men most pitiable'. Simply and solemnly, our Lord Himself declared, 'The dead are raised'. During the days when the bell was tolling for the King, and for us all, we needed no other bidding to contemplate our mortality, but we might have been called more often and more confidently to our hope in Christ. There were many voices to cry, The King is dead: Long live the Queen. But the Churchmen might have said, more often than some listeners heard them say, what only they could say: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive again. The passing bell tolls for us all, but by the grace of God, the trumpets, too, may sound for us on the other side. 'When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory . . . *Wherefore* . . . be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord'. The sense of man's duty to his fellow men is impressed on us often enough, and it was right, as it was inevitable, that the King's services to the State should be much spoken of, but the New Testament would have us do the work of our life not only as an offering to one another but as an offering to God. Indeed merely humanistic appeals to community service have too little force for the strains and stresses of modern life. The King in his coronation dedicates himself not only to the service of his people but to God. And to that same dedication are his subjects called.

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It is interesting to see how as the King of England's power has declined his influence has grown. King George VI has left to his

successors the memory and example of opportunities of public service that grew wider with good use. Many of us in lowlier stations lament that we have so little power to mend the disorders that surround us. The King had little power. He was content to use his influence and rejoiced in it. So may the least among us. There is not one of us who does not continually make it easier or harder for the things that are true, honourable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report to be more firmly established and more widely practised.

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THE arduous work of the Press during the long period of mourning was, with one exception which was widely noticed, very well done. The new techniques of obtaining and presenting the news demand more rigorous care than they sometimes receive. Photographers with telescopic lenses can intrude where good feeling would halt. The criticism of some photographs of the three Queens may serve more than its immediate purpose.

In the very month that the King died and the example of his and the new Queen's happy home life was gratefully acknowledged as a great stabilising influence throughout the nation, we noticed in one paper photographs on two successive days of a young film actress then in London, of whom it was said on the second day that she would be married that day "if her divorce papers came through in time from U.S.A". This young person's age was then given as nineteen. The marriage took place with a crowd of some two thousand persons milling about the entrance to the Registry Office.

Why are such photographs published and such announcements made? All social observers are aware of a general loosening of the marriage tie, to some extent inevitable in a time of military conscription and an almost catastrophic housing shortage, but the effort to re-establish the family as the basis of personal well-being and social stability is made more difficult by those newspapers which, whatever pen service they pay to decency in their leader columns, feed the debased adulation of these often debased persons. Is it too much to hope that under the inspiration of the new reign our newspapers, novelists and playwrights will become less preoccupied with sexual irregularities?

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QUEEN ELIZABETH II comes to the throne at a time when the affairs of the nation and the Commonwealth are again at a crisis. The affection, respect and loyalty to the throne called forth by the death of the late King will support her in her lonely eminence. Her Message at her coming of age and her Address to her Acces-

sion Council have shown her to be not only a great personage but a person of great charm and sensibility. Long may she reign!

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SOME exception has been taken to an incidental observation made in these notes in our last issue when we wrote that some form of imperialism is essential to the world, as much for the sake of the backward peoples as for their mentors. But what alternative is there, if the natural wealth of the world is to be brought into common use, the standard of living everywhere raised, communications improved, technical and cultural education spread and justice administered? All these developments are generally, if not universally, acknowledged to be good. It is true that Feisal, the leader of the Arab Revolt during the first War and later King of Iraq, refused the help of British troops in Arabia and desired as little contact with Europe as possible, because, as he told T. E. Lawrence, "Your good is not our good". It is true also that President Wilson let loose upon the world the dictum of 'the self-determination of peoples' but left the definition of his terms to be worked out by his bewildered successors. But there are historical forces that forbid the sealing off of the world's natural wealth and its confinement, even where that is possible, to those who at any given moment in history happen to be in possession. The wealth of the world is given to mankind for use, and in the end ownership and control are justified only by use. To imagine that any country will be allowed in perpetuity to refuse the minerals or oil or other natural products to the rest of the world while making no use of them merely on the ground of 'ownership' is to imagine a vain thing. Nor is there any moral justification for it. In what sense, for example, does the vast sea of oil on which the Middle East is afloat 'belong' to the nomadic tribes which so sparsely inhabit the desert surface? They are unable to use it, nor would they know of its existence except on the information of Western geologists.

There is a duty of the rich to the poor, of the learned to the ignorant, of the strong to the weak; but no less is there a duty of the poor, the ignorant and the weak to cease to be poor, ignorant and weak. The first duty of Adam was 'to keep the Garden and to dress it'.

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THE modern nationalist ebullience is due in large part to the exhaustion of the European powers following two great wars, and the conflict between former allies. There was, for example, no aggressive nationalism in Egypt when the German armies were threatening Cairo! Some of the smaller countries are at present

able to hold the rest of the world to ransom. But the nationalist leaders in Egypt, Persia and Malaya would be astonished to be told that moral considerations entered into their actions and demands. The oil of the world belongs in part to the people in whose territories it has been found, but it belongs in part also to those whose skill and capital have built up great industries. The people who built the Suez Canal and use it on their lawful occasions have a claim, even if it is not exclusive. The Canal passes through a desert which itself supports no living creatures except a few vipers and scorpions, and Abadan will soon revert to desert in that deadly heat, 'where the sun strikes like a sword', without European skill, labour and capital.

Some of our present difficulties come from the fact that the British habit of understatement has given opportunity for propaganda to represent us as 'oppressors'. It is more than a little absurd to suggest that the capital and engineering skill that have harnessed the flood waters of the Nile and made Egypt prosperous, and the administration that gave a corrupt country the basis of good government and brought it into the society of civilized nations have been the instruments of oppression.

It is important to keep in mind that the nationalist movements in Asia and Africa are not the spontaneous uprisings of 'the oppressed masses'. They are inspired and led by the upper and middle classes using the opportunities of world wide confusion and loss of confidence to gain power for themselves. To imagine that the rich men of the East, lacking the restraints of ordered government, will be more tender to their own poor than are the officers of the Colonial powers is delusive. If French, English and, since the War, American influence is withdrawn, the common people will be left to the mercy of a governing class which is almost invariably corrupt, with Russian influence pressing to move in on terms which cannot be specifically forecast but which will be guided by no more altruistic concern for the common people than totalitarianism has ever shown for its victims. There are only two ways of bringing into use the undeveloped wealth of the world. The way familiar to us in the West is the investment of capital (i.e., savings); the other is the form of slavery known as forced labour, which is the alternative method of the totalitarians.

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THE recent Conference at Rangoon of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East brought some interesting facts to light. The Western efforts in Asia, as shown in the Colombo Plan, are towards capital investment to stimulate these areas out of their abysmal poverty, in their own interests as well as those of the

rest of the world. The British delegate, rebutting the charge of exploitation, said that the average annual return on British capital overseas in the last twenty years had been three per cent, which was less than could have been earned at home. The American delegate said that American railways had been built chiefly with British money, but Americans did not feel they had been exploited. The Indian delegate said that dividends remitted abroad were only a tiny fraction of the profits made by companies in India.

The Russian delegate had an alternative to offer. Instead of capital investment, controlled labour directed on Marxian principles would develope productivity: in simple language, forced labour which to us in the West is indistinguishable from slavery ought to be the basis of the new economy.

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But as well as economic considerations there are conceptions of justice which have been pondered and tested through centuries. We believe them to have universal validity. The two most intractable problems among backward peoples are the control of population and the administration of justice. Everyone with experience of the East knows that what is considered in the West to be corruption runs through the whole of life. Dr. Howard Somervell used to tell a story of a judge in India, known to him, who had a great reputation for integrity, and deserved it. It was based upon the fact that he accepted bribes only of the same value from both parties in any case that came before him. Neither had thus bought any corrupt advantage. Dr. Goodall, describing the proceedings of the first conference of the Indian Christian Institute for the Study of Society in the *International Review of Missions* for January, says that one of the principal contentions of the conference was "a sharper indictment than any non-Indian would be justified in making of the extent to which corruption is vitiating public administration".

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Even more striking is a description by Miss Elspeth Huxley in the *Sunday Times* of February 10 of the institution of a new Constitution in Nigeria, prepared largely by the Governor of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson, who is to be the first President of the new State.

Nigeria is a country as big as France and Germany, inhabited by some twenty-eight million, largely illiterate, people, divided into four main groups of mutually hostile tribes. The risk of self-government is to be taken advisedly, but the need for guidance in every form of national life remains. For example, the secret ballot in the recent elections was refused point blank. "When a

man is alone in a room", it was said, "he will forget what he has to do"; and, "A man might fear to vote openly for a rogue, but would easily be bribed to do so in secret".

Miss Huxley goes on: "What Europeans condemn as bribery and corruption is so widespread as to be very nearly universal, being regarded by most Africans as part of the natural order of things. To get into hospital, get a prescription or even a glass of water, 'dashes' must go to a clerk or nurse; tariffs exist to get interviews with Europeans which may lead to jobs, and percentages must be paid thereafter on salaries; railwaymen make personal charges for selling tickets or clearing goods; politicians openly lament their heavy expenses in bribing voters. This state of affairs has existed in other countries and at other times, but here it amounts to a cancer in the body politic.

The number of men combining real intelligence with true integrity is pitifully small, and they are by no means all in public service".

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THE notion therefore that these backward peoples of Africa and Asia can now be left to themselves in the sacred name of 'self determination' is to refuse the responsibility of leading them into some form of civilization, which need not be a replica of Europe or America, but from which slavery, ju-ju, ritual murder, and tribal warfare have been banished. That will not be today or tomorrow. The work of the missionary, the administrator, the doctor, the engineer and the agriculturist will be needed for generations.

Or do we better interpret the will of God in this unequal world by leaving such people to themselves and to the mercy of a few hundred impatient and unscrupulous young nationalists?

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THE concept of imperialism changes. But the British Civil Service in India and the Colonial Services in Africa have made contributions to the well-being of great populations which will be better understood, especially in America, a hundred years hence. The power of Britain in the world has declined, but it is still a real, an indispensable, factor in the life of the world. Conflict there has always been where different civilizations—or culture patterns, as we believe the anthropologists now say—meet. But slowly the West has accepted as the standard of judgment the well-being of the common people, and the laborious responsibility that is involved. The formula of 'self determination' contains a principle which is not a panacea for the world's ills: nor can it immediately apply everywhere.

THE relationship of great States, whether capitalist or communist, to the rest of the world is fundamentally the same. The great struggle is not about ends but about means. The end common to us all is the accumulation of economic resources to enable the new technologies to be applied to the undeveloped regions of the world, that is, to produce more than we consume and to apply the savings to new uses. It is the methods that divide us. It is the duty of scholars and statesmen to find the right ways of progressive development, as it is the duty of Christians to preserve those values of the spiritual life which have come down to us through the centuries and will be maintained in the present only if they are as important to us as to those who, for example, broke through the totalitarianism of the Middle Ages. Many of us know what we are against, but it is now important that we should know what we are for. That involves hard thinking as well as right feeling.

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MR. CHESTER WILMOT'S *The Struggle for Europe* (Collins, 25s.) is a fascinating single volume history of the war in the West. If only there were leisure to contemplate the drama of the decade, 1940-50! Gibbon said that history was "little more than the record of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of men". If he had lived history, as we have done, as well as reading and writing it, he must surely have added the heroisms and mistakes of men. The courage, moral and physical, the daring and skill which again and again shine through this tremendous story make it hard to believe that our civilization will be lost in the dust and rubble of its own making Dr. Robert Macintosh used to tell us, when we were tempted to despair of our fellows, to go to a classical concert. The spectacle of hundreds of men and women rapt in the contemplation of beauty must restore our faith in the worth and dignity of the human spirit. Does it seem strange that that observation returned to the mind of one reader of this book? Not here, indeed, the contemplation of beauty, but of man matching his courage and skill against fearful odds. The story of the Allied invasion of France, familiar as it is, is breath-taking. The vast ingenuity of a plan unique in scope and daring: the lonely responsibility of Eisenhower, on whose single word rested the fate of nations and the lives of a numberless host: the armies held in leash: the great armada of ships, many of them so weird in construction that it seemed marvellous that they floated at all: and, during the last few hours, the appearance and re-appearance, like some messenger of the gods, of the homely meteorologist, telling of his weighing the winds and meting out the waters by measure: here is stuff for the Miltons and Shakespeares of some succeeding century! "God blew

with his winds and they were scattered" was inscribed on the medal struck by Elizabeth I after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. We are less certain of God's interventions, and no medal was struck to give thanks that the wind was moderate in those fateful hours of June, 1944. But how much depended on it!

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MR. WILMOT was a war correspondent, but he writes now as a historian. That all the facts are known and present judgments final it would be rash to assume, but there is here authoritative matter for the public discussion of some of the things that have been said in private for a long time.

On vital matters of strategy in the closing phases of the war Mr. Wilmot is critical of American decisions which are largely responsible for the present weakness of the Western powers in Europe. That Berlin, Prague and Vienna were liberated by the East instead of the West was the result of misjudgments arising out of Roosevelt's unwarrantable self-confidence. Even more important, the staying power of Japan was wrongly estimated with the result that the President, over-ruling Mr. Churchill, paid an immense price at Yalta for Russian support in the Far East which was never needed. It was these unnecessary concessions that "undermined his (the President's) own hopes for a post-war world in which international law and justice would prevail". After Yalta the Soviet Union was so powerful in Europe that Stalin could afford to be unco-operative. This debatable ground is unhappily not yet the preserve of academic historians. This is where we are still living and striving to repair a situation that need never have arisen.

This sometimes seems to be a world where our sins may be more readily forgiven than our mistakes remedied: —but that is a subject of discourse on which we share the sentiment of John Milton who, having written some fifty lines of a poem on the Passion of our Lord broke off, adding a note, "This Subject, the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished".

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So Europe knows no peace, and the fateful decision has been taken to rearm Germany as part of the defence of the West. With 'unco-operative' Soviet power within a hundred miles of the Rhine the temptation is great. But the effect of it upon the Czechs and Poles who are waiting to throw off the oppression under which they live is bound to be desolating. We can hope that the lessons of a double defeat and the consciousness that the opportunity is given them again to enter into the comity of free peoples will turn the thoughts

of the leaders of the new Germany into ways of peaceful development of their great powers. The contemplation of the successes and failures of the past, our own and others, serves little purpose unless it helps us to order our ways more justly and more humbly. Let us be much in prayer for our brethren in eastern Europe, whose love of freedom is deep; for those who must make the decisions on which the life of Europe depends; and for ourselves in the maelstrom of this present time, that we may find our refuge in God who is a very present help in trouble. To live in this world, to care for it and to keep ourselves unspotted from it is the responsibility He has laid upon us. They that trust in Him shall not be confounded.

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A CORRESPONDENT, who misses the cricket lore that used to adorn these pages in less urgent days, sends us a story for which he does not quote his authority. The late King, playing in a game at Windsor, once brought off the hat-trick by dismissing in successive balls his grandfather, Edward VII, his father, later GeorgeV, and his elder brother, later Edward VIII. Well, it just might have happened. One hopes it did. It would be unique in cricket history, and one cricket record would remain in this country for some time!

The royal cricket ground in the Home Park at Windsor has a magnificent setting, with the great Castle crowning the ridge, the ancient oaks and splendid elms scattered round and the willows lining the river banks. A friend on a visit to a resident in the Park once saw a strange sight. As she rounded a bend in the path the cricket ground came in view. It was unmistakably the cricket ground: there was the pavilion and there were the sight screens, but who were the players? They were not dressed in conventional white. Indeed it seemed to be a match between teams of elderly ladies, all dressed in short skirts of funeral black, relieved here and there with bodices with white sleeves. My friend quickened her steps in no little amazement. Who could these athletic matrons be? Not until she had almost reached the edge of the playing pitch did she realize that the players were church dignitaries, taking time off from some ecclesiastical conference, but still wearing their aprons. Archdeacons *v.* Deans, with perhaps a sprinkling of Bishops? It was a memorable sight.

CULTURE AND POLITICS

By Dr. Lynn Harold Hough

By culture one means first of all a knowledge of the best that has been thought and said and written and done in the world. But one means something more than this. The man of genuine culture is a man who has lived again through past experiences, who has made his own old mental struggles, who has thought once more the ancient and golden thoughts of men who have long passed from the earth, who gathers up in his own mind the very qualities of the slowly moving and slowly ripening centuries. Innumerable minds have combined to make his mind. Innumerable events have contributed to his understanding. The past is alive in his mind and so he brings to his own age the quality of a truly civilized intelligence.

The politician may be a man quite without culture. He may be the shrewd and wily product of the immediate life of which he is a part. He knows the men and women whom he meets every day with a cynical and observant understanding. He knows how to attract their interests. He knows how to secure their loyalty. He knows how to bend them to his own purposes. He knows how to get power by manipulating men. He has never thought deeply, if at all, about what to do with power when he has once attained it. The very provinciality of his outlook is a part of his strength with those who trust him partly because he shares their limitations.

This wily, uncultivated master of men has subjected himself to his own odd and curious sort of discipline. He knows his little and immediate world completely. He knows what the men about him want. And he knows what the men about him fear. He never thinks of asking himself whether they might be taught to want more worthy things. He never asks himself whether they fear the wrong things. He knows very well what it is which he personally wants and he knows very well what it is that he personally fears. But he has never subjected his own desires to criticism. And he has never subjected his fears to clear and honest analysis. He has no standard except the success of his plans. He has never learned to judge the present by the past, or the future by the possibilities which it reveals to intelligent understanding. He is likely to be rather proud in a superficial way of his democratic loyalties. But to him democracy means life lived on a low level where everyone can be comfortable rather than a mountain from which

artificial barriers have been removed and which everyone can climb who is willing to pay the price of laborious and faithful toil. His life is built about expediency, and for him principles are only verbal counters used for practical effect. Indeed he uses words merely to influence men and not at all to express deep and permanent loyalties. He is faithful only to his own selfish purposes and for their sake he is willing and ready to wear many a mask.

If he is a man of deeper purpose and of capacity for genuine loyalty the politician without culture may become the servant of a social and political formula which easily captures his enthusiasm just because he is more familiar with phrases than with the things for which phrases stand. The political and social formulas are likely to make everything seem to be simpler than anything actually is and so the man who thinks he is their master may very easily become their victim. Just because the formula is an impersonal abstraction it is likely to tend to depersonalize all human relationships and therefore it must be used with the utmost critical intelligence. But this is just what the politician without culture cannot provide. So he is likely to be betrayed as well as mastered by the formulas which he rather blindly follows. He is likely to become in the most definite sense a fanatic, the very light in whose eyes indicates his loyalty to a principle whose vast and varied relationships he has never seen or understood. The truth is that whenever any one principle is made an absolute and put into complete control the results are sure to be devastating. Steep and quick is the path to Avernus by means of social formulas. And any system which makes a man an item in a mathematical process rather than a living person is sure to produce widespread havoc when it is made the basis for action. So because only a really cultivated intelligence would save him from misusing his formulas the politician without culture becomes a man whose faith unfaithful makes him falsely true.

The man of culture may be a person who lives in an ivory tower and has no interest in politics. Dr. Margaret Mann Phillips has set forth an effective contrast between the work of Montaigne and that of Erasmus. She declares that, "while the originality of Montaigne lay in his investigation of his own personality by favour of his retirement from the world, Erasmus's thought was continually directed outwards, in perpetual contact with the events of his time, commenting, criticizing, attempting to influence by ridicule or by protest, exposing abuses or building up an ideal". The man of culture is rather too often more like Montaigne than like Erasmus. The inner world he has built by his learning is more important to him than the very human world in which he spends

his passing days. It was said of Plotinus that he would not celebrate his birthday because he was ashamed of having been born. He utterly disliked and distrusted the world in which he lived. The mystic has a way of passing beyond—transcending, he thinks—even the realm of his own culture and living in a world of numb tranquillity in which the values which give real meaning to existence are quite lost. The man who turns his eyes within may make important discoveries. He may also lose himself in a vast labyrinthine darkness from which it becomes quite impossible for him to emerge.

The man of culture, who does not become in the less noble meaning of the word a mystic, may live among his voices letting the life of the ages speak to his enchanted mind and never feeling the fresh and cool winds of the contemporary. He collects a vast treasure which has the greatest significance for a world which he never takes the trouble seriously to consider or to understand. He lives by a naïve faith that the world will remain a place which will nourish and protect and maintain such aloof men of culture as he. But while he is musing the fires of revolution may burn and they may destroy the orderly world upon which he depends for sustenance.

No doubt there must be a division of labour. And the scholar has a right to his study if he can keep it sacrosanct. But it must have great windows looking out upon the contemporary world. And the man of culture must not ignore that which these windows reveal. Even as a scholar he can do his best work only if he lives where the past and the present meet. The danger that culture should become ghostly is not one which is to be lightly passed by. The blood of living manhood must pulse in the scholar's arteries. Indeed it must throb in his mind if in the ultimate sense his scholarship is to be truly productive. The man of culture who lives in an ivory tower easily becomes a pathetic angel of learning ineffectually beating his wings as he moves about a world in which he lives like an alien mind. The very men of the mighty past whose companionship he so deeply prizes can be truly seen and adequately understood only as they are allowed to come forth upon the very arenas of the modern world.

The man who turns politics into statesmanship will be a man whose mind is fed by all the great streams of culture. When Aristotle wrote his Politics he had before him an analysis of the constitutions of one hundred and fifty States. He had made a complete analysis of political experience before his time. But he brought to every study something which came from all of his studies. He had studied the inanimate. He had studied the

animate. He had studied ethics. He was interested in getting at the heart of the meaning and practice of poetry. He sought for principles which moved through all the areas which had been the subject of his study and bound them together into some sort of intellectual coherence. So he became the master of those who know. And so he brought to his political study the richest and the ripest culture.

Cicero knew pretty well everything of significance which had happened in the intellectual world between the time of Aristotle and his own. And so he brought to his political activity a fully informed and nobly disciplined mind. We do not have enough of his political writing to satisfy our desires, but all of his formal writings and even his letters tell of the fullness of mind with which he approached the problems of the contemporary State.

It is important to remember that Aristotle soon rose from a consideration of men's life together to the profounder problem of how they could find a good life together. And he cast his eyes upon the other problem of how they could find the best life together. And it is important to remember the fashion in which Cicero put at the heart of all his thinking the love of that freedom without which there could be no good life for any man or for any State. It is not too much to say that he died at last a martyr to his love of freedom.

Of course a man may have erudition without that large human understanding, which a study of the best men have thought and said and done will bring. Karl Marx is the very best example of learning without culture. So he never understands the meaning of the good life in the sense of Aristotle. And he never understands the meaning of freedom in the sense of Cicero.

Aristotle discussed States where one man is in power, States which are controlled by a few men, and States where the people themselves have the authority. He shrewdly observed that any one of these forms could produce good results if the welfare of the whole State was kept in mind, while any one of them would produce bad results if the government was conducted for partial ends. He saw clearly enough the possibility of the tyranny of the many. He scarcely saw fully how the power of all the people when they were really in control could at least protect them from aggressive tyranny. He saw that the discipline which moderates desire is effective, where the easy-going surrender to desire leads to tragic results for the State. He would have understood the exclamation of a certain British leader after the passing of the Reform Bill: "Now we must educate our masters."

Cicero believed that the Roman Republic represented a synthesis of the best which Aristotle had found possible in king-

ship, an aristocracy or a democracy. He wanted the highest orders in the Roman State as he knew it, the Patrician and the Equestrian, to work together harmoniously, and he saw the vital importance of giving significant voting power to the people. One can understand much about the political doctrine of mutual balancing and checking as he reads the writing of Cicero.

By the time of Dante the spiritual and the political powers stood sharply over against each other. And so came his brilliant exposition of the doctrine of the two swords. If one may sum up the thought of many centuries without referring to particular authorities; you have the theory and the practice of the Church controlling the State; you have the theory and the practice of the State controlling the Church; you have the theory and the practice of the free Church in the free State; and you have the State in which the Church freely exercises any moral authority it is able to make authentic without having any political power.

Even deeper than these questions of practical relationship is the fact that you simply cannot take from politics moral sanctions or some spiritual basis without emasculating political life. The State cannot be allowed to be dominated by a tyrannical Church, but on the other hand the State which has become completely secular is already doomed. It cannot call in the moral or spiritual forces which will give stability and creative quality to its own life. It is for this reason that it is very important for the statesmen in every country and for all the voters in a democracy to be familiar with the great masterpieces of the moral and spiritual life. It was always evident that the mind of Mr. Gladstone was enriched and fortified by a lifelong reading of what may be called the literature of the spirit. And it may be said without too much exaggeration that he never made a political decision whose deepest roots did not lie in the realm of the spirit. Man is a unity composed of many parts and when you try to rule him merely in the terms of one fragment of his life you are sure to come upon frustration and failure at last.

But the principle we are setting forth is vast and far-reaching in its implications. The whole history of the human adventure must be in the mind of the man who is to think adequately about the demands of his own time. The bending of human aspiration to the forms of speech in golden words must be in the mind and even in the heart of the great statesman. He may not write poetry but he must appreciate the contribution of poetry to the full life of civilized man. The literature which tells the intimate tale of human experience in many lands must have entered his mind and have captured his imagination. The small area of human experience, which he knows intimately in his own life, must be widened and

deepened by the whole tale in literature of the defining experiences of men. It is precisely the man whose mind has been fertilized in this fashion who can be trusted to approach political problems without treating people as if they were figures in a statistical report, or abstractions from which all life has departed.

The amazing thing is that such pursuits as we have been describing have an infinite power to quiet and refresh the human spirit. Man was not made to live by statistics about bread alone. As the statesman insists upon having time to feed his mind and his spirit with the food which comes from the culture of the world, at the lowest level he will be saved from nervous prostration, and at the highest level he will be enabled to see all problems in the light of those sanctions which give permanent meaning to the life of man. When Gladstone died Sir William Robertson Nicoll wrote of him that he had so lived and wrought as to keep the soul alive in England.

The things which we have been considering have to do not merely with the great leader but with the people from whose loins he must come and whose support will make his own work possible. The most quiet and simple man engrossed in great books when the work of the day is completed is a phenomenon worthy of the attention of every student of the human situation. He is a part of the very stuff out of which the good life is made. It is such as he who makes great and wise political decisions possible. He saves the great leader from the tragedy of being a wise man without a following. And in a sense, whatever the limitations of his environment, he is already an example of the good life which the good State is to make possible.

Cicero used to say that in dealing with people we must show a reverence for all men. The other side of the assertion is that men must learn to live and think and speak in such a fashion as to command the high regard of their leaders. There is no more wholesome experience for a politician who is addressing a group of men whose votes he would secure than to find that they have thought as wisely or more wisely than he regarding every question which he discusses. Such a constituency constitutes a living justification of the claims of democracy.

It is the people themselves, then, who in the long run must illustrate the place of culture in training men for effective participation in the activities of the State. And it is the deepest principle of political liberalism that it trusts men to rise to this high demand and summons them to meet its searching tests.

FROM THE MARGINS OF A PSALTER

By A. G. Matthews, M.A.

The Psalms in Human Life, the book which R. E. Prothero, as he then was, brought out in 1903, is one which many readers are likely to know and to have profited by. Within its appointed limits it can hardly be improved on. All the more striking illustrations of the service the Psalms have rendered to the good and great throughout the centuries are there recorded. But the adventures of the Psalter have been endless, and it is still open to anyone who will to track it down in regions which Prothero did not chart. Here are a few of my own scanty and quite casually collected *marginalia,* which readers will be able to supplement to almost any extent.

First, the Psalter has contributed to our English dictionaries. For example, the word 'dirge' derives from *Ps.* V, 8. "Make thy way straight before my face", in the English version, appears in the Vulgate as *Dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam.* These are the first words of the antiphon at matins in the Catholic Office of the Dead. Next, a familiar phrase, "men of the world"; it is from *Ps.* XVII, 14 and in this context, a reverse perhaps, we may recall the title sometimes given to the 15th, 'The Gentleman's Psalm'.

What of sermons preached from psalms? That is a boundless theme. Here are half a dozen texts, none of them unfortunately from Nonconformist sources, a deficiency which some readers may be able to make good. "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth" (*Ps.* II, 10). This verse Bossuet in 1669 took for the text of his Funeral Oration on the death of the Queen Dowager of England, Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles I. The Oration is of interest to English readers if only for the great orator's characterization of Oliver Cromwell and his misdeeds. "Save me from the lion's mouth; for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns" (*Ps.* XXII, 21) was the text of a sermon preached on 5th November 1684 at the Rolls Chapel by Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. It cost him his two London preacherships. The beasts were the two heraldic supports of the royal escutcheon; the sermon was therefore thought to be "of dangerous construction". That is Burnet's explanation of his deprivation. In fact he made it the occasion of a two-hours' tirade against popery delivered amid general applause; and this, when his Catholic brother James was heir to the throne, was more than the King could stomach.

Next, an entry in *Pepys's Diary,* 17th February 1660, "A most tedious, unreasonable and impertinent sermon by an Irish Doctor. His text was "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in war" (Ps. LXVIII, 30). Now a far cry to *Ps.* CIV, 23, "Man goeth forth to his work, and to his labour, until the evening". This was Newman's favourite text. From it he preached his first sermon in the Anglican Church and his last (and at least one other sermon in the interval); the first in 1824 for a friend at Worton in Oxfordshire, on behalf of the distressed weavers of Spitalfields; the last at Littlemore in 1843, 'The Parting of Friends', the most moving of all his sermons. "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together" (*Ps.* CXXII, 3); Laud took these words for the text of his sermon at the opening of the Parliament of 1626. The unity which the bishop of St. David's, as he then was, sought to impress upon the High Court of Parliament in church assembled was to be centred in loving reverence for their King. The same verse served another great Oxonian of a later day, Jowett of Balliol, for a very different theme to a very different audience; a sermon on University life, "an introduction to Oxford", addressed to the Balliol Freshmen of the year 1885.

The Psalter as well as doing yeoman's service in the pulpit has, too, been a happy hunting ground for musicians. Not only has it been chanted throughout in daily church services, it has also inspired the anthems of a host of composers, whose capacities and incapacities have been as varied as those of the preachers. Take as a superlative instance the works in this genre of the greatest of English composers. Purcell has to his credit some famous psalm-settings. One of them is the third psalm, familiar at least for the verse "I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me". Dr. E. H. Fellowes comments in particular on Purcell's rendering of those words, a short chorus in the Latin, *Ego cubivi et dormivi,* with the repetition of *et dormivi.* "It is difficult", he says, "to find anything in the whole realm of music more lovely than this song of slumber in the security of divine keeping". The distinguished musicologist also remarks on Purcell's setting of *Psalm* XLV, and calls it perhaps the most important of all his anthems. It was sung at the coronation of James II when the Queen was conducted to her throne beside the King. How magnificent! "The King's daughter is all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. She shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needlework" (vv. 13, 14). The latter verse Purcell set for six solo voices unaccompanied. But this is a line of country outside my competence; it is enough here to give it thus much of indication.

To turn now to the masterpieces of English literature. Only one of Shakespeare's several references is on my margin. It is from *Antony and Cleopatra*. (III, 13); a fusion of two verses (*Pss.* XXII, 12; LXVIII, 15), "Strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round", and, "the hill of God is as the hill of Bashan, an high hill is the hill of Bashan". Anthony in passionate mood bursts out:—

> O that I were
> Upon the hill of Basan, to outroar
> The horned herd! for I have savage cause.

On this allusion in what Prothero calls Anthony's "prayer", a dubiously inspired commentator remarks, "probably Anthony caught it from his friend Herod, or picked it up when he was at Jerusalem with Cleopatra, as he once was." Well, one never can tell, but it is just possible he picked it up from Shakespeare.

Next a foot-note from the greatest of all biographies. Johnson and Boswell were riding in a post-chaise, when, somwhere between Barnet and London, their talk veered round to their perennial topic of melancholy. "Some men", Johnson observed, "and very thinking men too, have not those vexing thoughts", and he named some of their friends. Boswell comments, "The phrase 'vexing thoughts' is, I think, very expressive. It has been familiar to me from my childhood, for it is to be found in the 'Psalms in Metre', used in the Churches (I believe I should say *Cirks*) of Scotland, *Psalm* XLIII, 5.

> Why art thou then cast down, my soul?
> What should discourage thee?
> And why with *vexing thoughts* art thou
> Disquieted in me?"

Finally, for the novelists—a wide field indeed! My margins have four references only. To begin with, two famous passages from Thackeray; the first from *Esmond*. After months of bitter estrangement Lady Castlewood and Esmond meet again in Winchester Cathedral at the close of evensong, and give way to a rapture of reconciliation. "I knew you would come back", the Lady says. "And today, Henry, in the anthem, when they sang it, 'When the Lord turned the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream', I thought, 'Yes, like them that dream'. . . . But now—now you are come again, 'bringing your sheaves with you' ". (*Ps.* CXXVI). The other passage is from *The Newcomes*. The narrator describes the scene in the Charterhouse chapel on Founder's Day. The service is a special one; among the psalms

selected is the 37th with the verse (23), "The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way". The narrator looks up and sees Colonel Newcome among the pensioners. "He stood there amongst the poor brethren, uttering the responses to the psalm. The steps of this good man had been ordered hither by Heaven's decree: to this Alms-house! Here it was ordained that a life all love, and kindness and honour, should end! I heard no more of prayers, and psalms, and sermon, after that".

My other novelist is Hardy; we are among the homely, unsophisticated country-folk of his beloved Wessex. First, from *Under the Greenwood Tree*. A momentous revolution has taken place at Mellstock church; the old band of male instrumentalists has been displaced by a young lady at a cabinet-organ. On the first Sunday of the new regime the venerable body of musicians, instead of occupying the gallery as heretofore, sit in the congregation with their wives. Some of them had not relished the prospect. The tranter had proposed that they should stay away and go nutting, but grandfather William would not hear of such a thing for a moment. "No", he replied reproachfully, and quoted a verse: 'Though this has come upon us, let not our hearts be turned back or our steps go out of the way' (*Ps.* XLIV, 18). Finally a reference to *Psalm* CIX, of all the imprecatory psalms the most imprecatory, and that is saying a good deal. "David complaining of his slanderous enemies, under the person of Judas, devoteth them"; so runs the heading in the old Bibles. Hardy uses the psalm with startling effect in a dramatic chapter of his masterpiece, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Henchard, the one-time Mayor, has come down in the world. For twenty years he had been under a vow of abstinence, but now he has finished with that, and on a certain Sunday afternoon sits in the "King of Prussia" drinking. Enter a company of worshippers from the church across the way, followed by the choir with their instruments under their arms, all bent on their habitual after-service dram. Henchard calls on the choir for a tune; that and his glass may, he tells them, get him out of his long fit of low spirits. They are willing enough to oblige him. "As 'tis Sunday, neighbours", their leader says, "suppose we raise the Fourth Psa'm to Samuel Wakely's tune, as improved by me". Henchard will have none of that; there is in his opinion, only one psalm-tune worth singing, Old Wiltshire, "that would make my blood flow like the sea when I was a steady chap". He picks up a Psalter to find some words, and happening to glance out of the window sees passing in the street, with his newly married wife on his arm, the man whom he believes to be at the bottom of his down-

fall. This gives him his cue. He reads out four verses (10-15) of *Psalm* CIX—

His seed shall orphans be, his wife
A widow plunged in grief;
His vagrant children beg their bread
Where none can give relief.

His ill-got riches shall be made
To usurers a prey;
The fruit of all his toil shall be
By strangers borne away.

None shall be found that to his wants
Their money will extend,
Or to his helpless orphan seed
The least assistance lend.

A swift destruction soon shall seize
On his unhappy race;
And the next age his hated name
Shall utterly deface.

The leader of the choir demurs to the psalm. " 'Twasn't made for singing", he declares. "We chose it once when the gipsies stole the pa'son's mare, thinking to please him, but he were quite upset. Whatever Servant David were thinking about when he made a Psalm that nobody can sing without disgracing himself, I can't fathom! Now then, the Fourth Psalm, to Samuel Wakely's tune, as improved by me." At that Henchard grows violent; he seizes the poker, sets his back against the door, and bids them sing to his order, or he will break their heads. So to Old Wiltshire they give out the deadly maledictions. The worst was yet in store for them. "There's the man we've been singing about", Henchard exclaimed to their horror, as the object of his hatred passed the window a second time.

With this lurid setting of a lurid psalm, my handful of notes is exhausted.

CONGREGATIONAL PRAISE, 1951
(I)

By Leslie H. Bunn, B.A.

Let it be said at once that Congregationalists have cause to be proud of their new manual of praise which, in its handsome pale-blue and silver cover, does credit to everyone concerned in its production.

This book was projected just before the War to replace the *Hymnary* current since 1916, but, in the inevitable postponement of all such labours, its predecessor has now done extended duty for thirty-five years. During that period of world-wide spiritual unrest Christians have had to look carefully to their resources, not least in hymnody, lest they should find their faith betrayed by a broken staff or an unsure guide. One criterion of changing need and accent is afforded by the fluctuating recourse to Watts. Of a thousand *Psalms and Hymns* in 1859 almost four hundred were of his authorship, but Dr. Barrett reduced the number to sixty-three in his *Hymnal* of 1887, while in 1916 the *Hymnary* admitted only twenty-five. There is thus an obvious significance in the inclusion today of forty-eight, for this resolute reinstating of Isaac Watts sets the tone of the new hymn-book. It has often been remarked, indeed, that the *Congregational Hymnary* showed a strong bias—dating from the *Supplement* of 1874—towards the poetry of free-thought; but while Unitarians and Quakers have undoubtedly enriched the 'common' of Christian praise, their total contribution is judiciously reduced from about seventy-five in 1916 to something like forty-five.

A relatively 'high' doctrine of the Church probably accounts for the placing of hymns of that section before those on the Christian Life. This is the order followed in 1916 and also by the *Church Hymnary*, 1927. Both Presbyterians and Congregationalists have thus reversed the positions held largely in the 19th century, and the Evangelical emphasis which they then shared with the Baptist and Methodist hymnals is today maintained by those alone. This is not to deny that the present Collection provides in fine and generous proportion hymns for inward needs of the soul and for missionary and public action, but since Barrett's day it does seem to occupy a different ground in theory.

Then, notwithstanding the welcome inclusion of a few Scottish metrical psalms, the strength of the book lies in its being a standard

hymn-book for English Congregationalists. For instance, far more psalm-versions by Watts and others are scattered throughout the text. Also, although containing many more translations than its precursor, and as many from the German as the *Church Hymnary* if not as the *Methodist Hymn-book,* it does so unobtrusively without printing their titles. Perhaps English Independency is less conscious than other Calvinists or Methodists of being bound to the Reformed and Evangelical Churches of the European continent.

Taking the Sections in order we may now observe some points of interest, though by no means all.

The Eternal Father (1-71). Quite wisely in No. 2 and elsewhere (if not yet in the dictionary) we find the word "aweful": as language depreciates it becomes necessary to remint the coinage. Watts' "performing God" (65) is suitably amended, as in 1916, to "fulfilling" (cp. *M.H.B.*), but no one has managed to improve the unwanted "taste" of Cowper's "bud" (56).

The Lord Jesus Christ (72-197). We welcome *Von Himmel hoch* (78) in Hunt's lovely variant on the familiar Winkworth version. Among several good hymns on the Life of Jesus is Canon Briggs' (117), with Dr. Elvet Lewis' practicable substitute (115) for "There's a Friend" still set to Stainer's tune. With the Passion hymns it was well to revive Watts' "Alas, and did my Saviour bleed" (130), abandoned since 1859; also Crossman's 17th-century *Love Unkown* (128) where John Ireland's tune might have stood alone with a cross-reference. Here too, and not with the Communion hymns as Watts designed, stands "When I survey" (131), in full integrity of "His dying crimson" (st. 4) and even, in a footnote, the "young Prince". There is fine singing for Easter from Wither (151) to the recent Dean of Durham (149); upon the inevitable inclusion of Wesley's classic (145) should be read the late Bernard Manning's *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*[1]. In "Crown Him with many crowns" (166) the compilers have not shrunk from the authentic "rich wounds", but why perpetuate "chosen" (st. 1) for "matchless"? They did well to give "Join all glorious names" almost entire as two hymns (176) but five of Dr. Bridges' superb double stanzas (194) make a stern test of endurance. We welcome Francis Bland Tucker's noble verses (197) both for their own sake, and as introducing Stanford's great tune *Engelberg*.

The Holy Spirit (198-218). This section might have been further strengthened by "Spirit of flame" (348). But need there be two versions, though admirable each, of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*

[1] p. 135 note.

(202, 203)? Brownlie's translation from the Greek (198) is good and well suited with its new tune (cp. *English Hymnal* and *Ancient and Modern*/1950).

The Holy Trinity (219-224). The useful *Index of Alternative Hymns* on p. 1015 might add under this heading the abridged version of Rawson's "Father, in high heaven dwelling" (624).

The Holy Scriptures (225-236). In this group occurs a little hymn (235) by G. Currie Martin, first secretary of the Hymn Society.

The Church (237-365). Under Worship, "Light up this house" (272), first introduced in 1859, is adequate, but its "shekinah-cloud" recalls Gannett's similar allusion (*Songs of Praise* 655) which requires an explanatory footnote. T. T. Lynch has a charming Baptismal hymn (288) and Dr. Elvet Lewis another (290), and there is a good section upon the Lord's Supper, enriched from Watts (294, 295), and with Doddridge's "My God, and is Thy table spread" (297) printed at length as in 1859. Here too Canon Briggs (311) and Dr. Lewis (310) are again ably represented. "Triumphant Zion" (319) is a noble recovery from Doddridge, while the more modern "Trumpet of God" (338, also in *A. & M.*/1950) is equally welcome, with Charles Wood's telling *Rangoon*. One good hymn by A. F. Bayly is included (347), though long, and perhaps not his best. We note, too, that Bishop Coxe's missionary hymn is altered, as in *M.H.B.*, to "Saviour, *quicken* many nations" (336), thus serving both good sense and sound exegesis (cp. *Isa.* LII, 15 rv. mg.). Hymns about Heaven include "My soul, there is a country" (356), sole representative of Henry Vaughan; also Wesley's "Come, let us join" (361), but does not the incongruity of this author's last two lines justify emendation, as in *Church Hymnary* 227 (=*A. & M.*/1861-1950)? Two newer hymns are Charter Piggott's "For those we love" (364) and the Bishop of Chichester's splendid "Christ is the King!" (365).

Discipleship (366-535). We find a beautiful meditation on the Prodigal Son by R. F. Horton (379), and some excellent verses for young people by J. W. Butcher (421). In Baxter's "Lord, it belongs not" (435) the editors have not adopted Dearmer's emendation of st. 2 (*Songs of Praise* 105), though that is the only one which preserves the author's reference to the parable of *Matt.* XX, 8. Other fine hymns here range from Sidney Godolphin (434) to Geoffrey Hoyland's "Lord of good life" (446). "Fore-runners" (517) appears for Neale's "vaunt-couriers" (which few collections have dared to print); yet his quaint Latinisms "social joys" and "con-jubilant" (352) are retained. "My God, my Father" (530),

though evidently modelled on Charlotte Elliott, regards the Will of God in more robust mood.

Social and National (536-586). Here are excellent hymns by Dr. Fosdick (563) and G. B. Caird (564); also by Sir Henry Newbolt (524) who also appeared in 1916; but (*pace Amos* 3^6) does our Lord really "give despair"?

Times and Seasons (587-653). For "God of the morning" (592) we must look back to 1859 when compilers also knew their Watts. Some of John Austin's stanzas have appeared in hymnals, but to print his hymn (almost) in full (616) adds distinction to this book. The otherwise admirable hymn "Lord Jesus, in the days of old" (628) illustrates the peril of using archaic speech; "wist" is not a past participle (cp. the rather clumsy correction (105) of Theodore Parker's " . . . Thou . . . who once *appeared*"). We may venture to approve a harvest hymn by a living writer, H. R. Moxley (652). The Church is now significantly less concerned that God should "guard our dust"; hence, after more than a century, Doddridge is permitted to end his hymn (638) in his own words which truly should never have been altered.

Children (683-705). Many hymns suitable for young people's use are carefully tabulated on page 1013. The present section for little children contains two delicate pieces by Canon Briggs (687, 689), and one by Ada Skemp (694). The well-loved "Rocking" carol is here (693), and also "Infant Holy" (696) from the Polish (but described as Czech, though provided with a Polish melody).

Carols (706-728). Here, with Ben Jonson (713), Neale (725) and G. R. Woodward's "Joyful Eastertide" (726), are several capital modern pieces (710, 721, 727, 728, 720).

After a few *Scottish Metrical Psalms* (729-744) there follow—*Doxologies* (745-752). Here is the venerable "God be in my head" (745) to Walford Davies' exquisite setting.

Congregational Anthems (753-761). It is good to find Baxter's noble "Christ, Who knows all His sheep" (757) given in his own words and not as in *S.P.*

Private Devotion (762-778). Seeing that "Jerusalem, my happy home" is given in all its twenty-six stanzas (762) and also briefly paraphrased at 353, we could well dispense with the shorter version at 354. This, finally, is the only possible section for Mr. Carter's searching lines (778) which in the hymnal proper speak the last word.

Musically this book is of the highest order. The present writer's experience has been gathered during years spent mainly among small congregations rural and urban, where a good attendance may number thirty, the choir (uncertain in presence and practice) can seldom read music, and the

unpaid American-organist usually has a preference for known tunes and an aversion to "four sharps". Such material is by no means ideal, but it is not to be despised; it is amazingly loyal, sometimes enthusiastic and even teachable, and it doubtless abounds within Congregationalism as without, yet it is rarely kept in mind by the compilers of tune-books. Such congregations, however, will be comforted to learn that well over three hundred familiar hymns in this book are set to some well-known tune.

Congregational Praise stands as a distinguished contribution to hymnology, and will amply serve its generation in the high worship of God.

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(2) THE MUSIC

By Cyril S. Christopher, Mus.D., F.R.C.O.

"In the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song to the Praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised".
Queen Elizabeth's "Injunction" (1559).

Discussing the popularity of choral singing in England, Sir Thomas Beecham has recalled "the sadly cynical observation of one to whom any rejoicing of the heart in tuneful numbers is a harrowing ordeal, that concerted singing does have one clear advantage over other kinds, inasmuch as it enables a man to let off all the emotional steam with which he may be seething, without hearing in the glorious welter of noise around him either the sound of his neighbour's voice or that of his own". Under such conditions, a choral work could not receive a very satisfactory performance, but to some of the hymn singing of former days the observation might have been applied with more truth and less cynicism; even the present age is not without religious gatherings in which the invitation to "cry aloud and shout" is taken literally, and the result regarded as the hall-mark of excellence in the matter of congregational singing.

Few experiences are more uplifting than the one presented by a strong hymn-tune making its full appeal to a large congregation. But 'hearty' singing is by no means the only important element in such an experience, while to substantiate a claim that it is the chief element would be, to say the least, difficult. Certainly of no less moment is the quality of the tune itself; but enthusiasm for poor musical material, and expenditure of vocal effort quite disproportionate to the value of the tune are not uncommon. "How often",

asked Sir William Hadow, "is a service at which the words come to us charged with the full majesty of our Bible and our Prayer Book almost wholly ruined by the interpolation of dull or tawdry or sentimental melodies?" The question: What can be done to improve our congregational singing?, is often asked—'improve' almost invariably referring to increased volume of sound. Only on the rarest occasions does one hear: How can we make our congregational singing more worth while?. This implies a much deeper concern. "The hymns in the village church, which every member of the congregation can sing, may represent within their range as high a standard of composition as the anthems and canticles which are more suited to Abbey and Cathedral". None will care to deny the truth of this assertion, or to disagree with the same eminent writer when he says: "It does not cost any more to sing 'Now thank we all our God' than to sing the most sentimental hymn-tune that ever strayed into church by mistake: and it makes a great deal of difference to the congregation which of these you select".

All this, and more, would the Music Advisory Committee appear to have had in mind during the compilation of *Congregational Praise*. The denomination was in dire need of a new book of hymns and tunes. As the Preface reminds us, "the needs of a new generation" had to be met; there were also powerful influences "fostered by the publication of new collections and by broadcasting" which could not be ignored when "many hymns had become widely known and many splendid tunes familiar" through these channels. Congregationalists cannot but rejoice in the prospect of singing such magnificent tunes as: *Down Ampney, Sine Nomine, Monks Gate, Marching, Lobe den Herren, Vulpius,* and *Stracathro*—to mention only a few. The popular *Crimond* and *Cwm Rhondda* are also included. The invigorating *Laudate Dominum* (*C.P.* 25) has prevailed against a modern tendency to throw down the Gauntlett. Anglicans have long enjoyed singing this tune—welcome to *Congregational Praise!* The Committee's indebtedness to Dr. Eric H. Thiman, "who freely placed his professional knowledge at their service", is abundantly clear, even on first acquaintance with the book. The *Congregational Hymnary,* issued in 1916, contained many good tunes, but the proportion of mediocre and unworthy examples was unduly high, and there were serious defects in matters of arrangement, pitch, and suitability. Such shortcomings the Committee has not been slow to remedy; neither has it lacked the necessary courage to place certain popular specimens entirely out of reach; Vincent's enervating tune *St. Jude* (*C.H.* 486), with its sickly, drooping cadences; or the blatant example by Dr. Henry Hiles, *Thornton*

(*C.H.* 436), sung to the hymn "Soldiers of Christ, arise"—no doubt the first line of the hymn provides the militant idea, but the style of the tune fits it for use in a recruiting campaign. How much more dignified and generally suitable is Monk's tune *St. Ethelwald* (*C.P.* 497), suggesting the third line ("Strong in the strength which God supplies") as the basic idea, or *From Strength to Strength* (E. W. Naylor). Then we are spared the cloying *Waltham* (*C.H.* 593), and *Fatherhood* (*C.H.* 401) with its nine F's to start with, followed by seven A's two bars later, and then a refusal to pass from one note to the next without a double blow. Considerations of space do not allow extension of the list.

One also suspects moments of timidity. For instance, it would be interesting to know the reasons which led to the retention of *Norse Air* (*C.P.* 516). Such persistent use of a jerky, rhythmic pattern soon becomes undignified and, finally, irritating. Incidentally, considerable power of imagination is necessary in order to accept this as a suitable tune for the hymn: "Our fathers were high minded men who firmly kept the faith". Our faith will have to contend with jerks as well as mountains, if and when we use this tune.

Dr. Thiman has provided excellent tunes *Bread of Life* (*C.P.* 233), and *Rossetti,* (*C.P.* 717) to replace the sentimental *Gottlieb* (*C.H.* 207) and *Yuletide* (*C.H.* 760) respectively. *Vaudois* (*C.H.* 654) gives way to the much stronger *Stokesay Castle* (*C.P.* 666), and *Repton* and *Sawyers* (*C.P.* 408) have made possible the removal of *Rest* (*C.H.* 407)—but not to a place of safety, for *Gottlieb, Vaudois,* and *Rest* are allowed to continue the battle from the Appendix. They have 'retired to new positions'! So has *Pentecost,* that classic example of a thoroughly bad hymn-tune. Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw took courage in both hands, and denied *Pentecost* a place in both *The English Hymnal* and *Songs of Praise.* They should have been decorated for valour. *Vaudois* (from a hymn of the Vaudois Mountaineers) would certainly sound better in the mountains than in church. Its jaunty dotted note figure, many times repeated, exhibits a style which many will regard as unsuitable for church purposes; return it to its rightful owners. The long halts ending lines 1 and 2 of *Gottlieb* are very trying for a congregation and hardly ever successful and convincing. Any effort to remedy this by speeding up the tune gets dangerously near to the waltz—and that to 'Break Thou the bread of life'! An Appendix is almost certain to be a weak section of any tune book—tunes unfit for the body of a book are better omitted.

Kingsfold (*C.P.* 376) is a welcome choice for "I heard the voice

of Jesus say"; *Vox Dilecti* is still available in the Appendix for those who prefer it. One could have wished for an alternative to the sentimental *St. Margaret* (*C.P.* 774), with its 'leaning' effect to end each line. *Abbot's Leigh* (*C.P.* 243) is suggested as first choice for "Glorious things of thee are spoken", but it will not easily displace *Austria,* placed second. On the other hand *St. Clement* (*C.P.* 626) yields to *Les Commandemens de Dieu,* and the immense popularity of the former should not be allowed to obscure the greater merit and deeper significance of its rival. Vaughan Williams's *Randolph* (*C.P.* 678) transforms 'God be with you till we meet again', and one ventures the hope that both choirs and congregations will give a real chance to Dr. W. H. Harris's lovely setting of "Lead, kindly light", *Alberta* (*C.P.* 509). The notation of *Nun danket all* (*C.P.* 188) is more practical than that of the *Congregational Hymnary* version.

Among the attractive things in the section "For Children" are *Royal Oak* (684), *Rocking* (693), *Infant Holy* (696) and *Westridge* (701); and *Sussex Carol* (706), *Quittez, Pasteurs* (720), and *Vruechten* (726) are beautiful examples from the group of "Christmas and Easter Carols". The harmonization of the French Carol melody *Iris* (719) strikes one as rather fussy, minimizing the contrast of verse and refrain; the version in the *Oxford Book of Carols* seems preferable.

The appearance of *The Lord Bless thee* (752) among the "Doxologies and Blessings" is a blemish. Should the *singing* of these words be encouraged?—*monotoning,* possibly. But what can be said in favour of this music, anyway? Those who must have it should be prepared for a difficult job in searching for it. *Congregational Praise* extends an open invitation, and prolongs, for at least a generation, the life of a miserable piece of music to be associated with a part of Divine Service where singing is, at least, questionable. Excellent material for massed singing is to be found in "Congregational Anthems" (753-761); a congregation will be able to make *Famous Men* (755) truly impressive, in a way denied to a smaller body of singers—but this pre-supposes adequate rehearsal. In the section "Chiefly for Private Devotion" an adaptation of a sixteenth century melody, *Miserere Mei* (776) is outstanding.

It is good to see the Committee viewing marks of expression with disfavour—a feature which did not enhance the value of the *Congregational Hymnary.*

An explanatory note says: "All hymns are to be sung in harmony except the verses marked for unison". Here, division of opinion is likely. To make it a practical proposition, we must ensure that modern congregations are prepared to accept responsi-

bility for efforts toward a better state of church music as did some pioneers. The middle of the nineteenth century witnessed the blind preacher, the Reverend John J. Waite, giving congregations instruction in part-singing; the psalmody class at Union Church, Islington, where a large proportion of the congregation paid a fee for tuition in singing their part of the service; and similar experiments at King's Weigh House Chapel. Failing some such preparation, is the result likely to be harmony? Much the same might be said in relation to "Canticles", "Psalms", and "Passages of Scripture for Chanting"—admirable sections in which essential beauty will be fully realized either by choir alone, or with the co-operation of a congregation which has cultivated and maintained efficiency in the intricate business of pointing.

Indiscriminate use of *Amen* is widespread. A further note of explanation offers guidance on this point which churches will do well to accept. The wisdom of the procedure mentioned in paragraph 4 of the "Preface to the Psalter" is open to question; if the musical value of these "familiar eighteenth and nineteenth century tunes" has to be lowered to make possible their use in connection with a modern system of pointing, should they be used at all? There cannot be such a scarcity of suitable and unadapted tunes as to necessitate a 'make-do-and-mend' policy. Regarding paragraph 6, the danger is not so much that the "dramatic content of many of the psalms" will be "overlooked", as that it will be overdone.

The last few pages are devoted to "Ferial and Festal Responses"; and eight "Concluding Amens", all of which are useful, though 1, 3, and 8 are the most attractive.

Throughout the book are indications as to where an alternative to the given tune, or a setting at a different pitch, may be found—a thoroughly practical feature; and a number of effective descants are available. The music-type is bold.

To expect full agreement on the relative value of hymn-tunes is to be carried by a wave of optimism far out to sea. In matters of art, appraisement cannot be reduced to an exact science; there is always the intangible to be reckoned with. The perfect hymn-book has yet to appear, but *Congregational Praise* has set a very high standard, and, having in mind its many points of excellence, such criticism as is here offered is of comparatively small account. The advantages to be derived from its use should guarantee an enthusiastic reception for the new book by the churches of Congregationalism.

ELIZABETH UNWIN (née Spicer)

By Sir Stanley Unwin, LL.D.[1]

James Spicer (1807-1888) of Harts, Woodford, Essex, Congregationalist and founder of the world-famous firm of Spicers, Ltd., was a remarkable man, and not least in the number of his progeny. At the family gathering held in 1948 no less than one hundred of those present were found to be his direct descendants or married to them. His own immediate family consisted of ten—four girls, followed by four boys and then two more girls. The eldest daughter (Mrs. Martindale) has been vividly portrayed by Miss Hilda Martindale in a volume entitled *From One Generation To Another*[2], and there are attractive biographical sketches of the youngest daughter (Miss Charlotte Spicer) and the second eldest son (The Rt. Hon. Sir Albert Spicer, Bt.) in *Some Victorian Portraits*[3]. A more detailed and most excellent biography of the latter is to be found in *Sir Albert Spicer, Bart,* written by one of his sons[4]. No life has, however, yet been written of another famous son, Sir Evan Spicer, chairman of the London County Council, 1906-1907.

Harts with its two porters' lodges and mile walk round the grounds (adjoining Woodford Green) must have been a wonderful home. Those were the days when the merchant princes of London could live in regal splendour, and James Spicer was one of them. Although I went to Harts as a child I was too young to enjoy its benefits like my elder brothers, who made my mouth water with their enraptured accounts of peaches and nectarines which they were permitted to eat if they had dropped, and left me lost in admiration of their skill in ensuring that adequate quantities did drop!

My mother was the second eldest, and although she had neither the stately presence nor masterful[5] personality of her elder sister (Louisa Martindale), she was probably in her own unobtrusive way the most remarkable character in a very remarkable family. I have certainly never met anyone with such deep underlying

1 Her youngest son. See also his *Edward Unwin: 1840-1933, Congregational Quarterly,* January, 1952.

2 London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 3 Ibid.

4 London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd.

5 Her younger daughter objects to the adjective as denoting lack of feminity. I would remind her of George Meredith's words in *The Tragic Comedians* which are so applicable to my Aunt Louisa; "You meet now and then men who have the woman in them without being womanized; they are the pick of men. And the choicest women are those who yield not a feather of their womanliness for some amount of manlike strength. And she is one; man's brain, woman's heart."

power. Unlike many short people she did not make up for shortness of stature by even a hint of aggressiveness. In quietness and confidence was her strength.

Her father entrusted her with his cellar (for which he was famous), and at one stage with the instruction of the two youngest daughters, who, when they were white-haired, Mother still referred to as "the girls." Mother enjoyed the first task immensely, and to the end knew much about, and enjoyed, good wines, so that it was a real deprivation to her to discard her share of her father's cellar, which she and my father did when, some time after their marriage, they became on principle life-long abstainers. From that moment nothing alcoholic was kept in the house, and the one visitor (John Shrimpton, founder of the Homes for Working Girls in London) permitted a 'night cap' had to bring his whisky with him.

Teaching her young sisters she never enjoyed, and it was a task she was ill-fitted to do except by example. Shrewdness, judgment, intuition, strength of character she possessed *in excelsis,* but intellectual power, which Goethe regarded as the least important attribute in a woman, she did not possess. That last fact led many to under-rate her. Her father took her many tours on the Continent, which, like the Ruskins, they made in their own carriage. She thus acquired a taste for foreign travel which she never lost.

He was, I must add, a very Victorian father, and had decided views about the husbands his daughters ought to accept. He would, I am sure, have approved the Victorian dictum "Don't marry for money, but marry where money is". Unfortunately his daughters, having strong characters of their own, had, and maintained, other views. The Unwin brothers, George and Edward, were members of the same Congregational church as the Spicers, and like Lizzie and Maria Spicer were Sunday School teachers, so that no exception could be taken to them on religious grounds (as I believe was later the case with a younger step-brother, Buxton Unwin), but alas! they were struggling printers, and impecunious. George, although barely twenty, had taken over the Jacob Unwin business on the latter's death; my father (Edward) had joined him later as a junior partner. It was hard enough for old James Spicer to accept George Unwin as prospective husband of Maria (his third daughter), but when the younger and still more impecunious brother, Edward Unwin, proposed to the elder daughter (my mother, Lizzie Spicer) his cup of bitterness overflowed, and all the resourcefulness of the eldest sister (who was also devoted to my father) and others was needed to calm the troubled waters. But the passage was far from smooth, and onerous conditions were laid down before the engagement was

permitted. In the end the two Unwin brothers carried off the two Spicer sisters, and their two families (of eleven and nine respectively) were thus doubly related. Both marriages proved intensely happy.

Although our Sundays may have been "cribbed, cabin'd, and confined", and theatres and playing cards were taboo, we enjoyed, for those days, remarkable freedom, and this, I think, we owed largely to Mother, who had the most absolute confidence in us all, and let us know that we had it. She never found fault, but appealed to the best in us. Her capacity for making us feel ashamed of ourselves if we did anything wrong was remarkable. In the matter of sex education she was a long way ahead of her time. She was determined that we should be fully informed, and we were thus brought up with clear ideas of what was right and wrong in such matters, and with no unnatural inhibitions from discussing such problems. On one point she was insistent, and that was the equality of the sexes. What was wrong for a woman could not be right for a man, and a man had no more (but no fewer) "rights" than a woman. To the many religious people who in those days objected strongly to the imparting of sex information she had a complete answer. It was all in the Bible.

Again, as an outcome I imagine of her strong feelings about equality of the sexes, my mother felt that, as the person jointly responsible for the arrival of an infant, the father should take his full part. If the mother had the burden and pain of carrying and delivering the child, the least the father could do was to be present at the hour of trial to comfort and encourage the mother. My father was accordingly present at the arrival of all nine of us.

If a man is going to prove a nuisance in such circumstances he is best out of the way; but I should be sorry not to have been present at the birth of all my four children to hold my wife's hand, and to have the privilege of giving her a whiff of chloroform when she needed it.

It is perhaps a strange thing to say, but knowing better than most men just really what it means, and being in many other respects a physical coward, I would have been quite prepared to take my turn of child-bearing were that possible. There is nothing more intensely satisfying than creation, and is there anything more noble we human beings can create? It is no wonder as the Bible says "she remembereth no more the anguish for joy that a man is born into the world".

The completely unobtrusive way, in which Mother held her own was astonishing. We were an argumentative family, and Mother just listened silently. When we had exhausted ourselves someone would ask her what she thought. Her reply showed that she had

pierced through all the verbiage to the heart of the problem, and in a few quiet words she would pronounce a verdict which left us completely satisfied.

One evening I announced at supper that I had to go off almost immediately for a long business tour on the Continent, and jokingly asked round the table, including my father, whether anyone would like to come with me. After they had all declined, Mother said quietly "You haven't asked me". When I responded "Well, would you come?" she replied "Why not?", and that was the beginning of a wonderful series of yearly business journeys upon which she accompanied me to many places, from Vienna and Budapest to Copenhagen. They always had to be achieved economically, but that did not disturb her in the least. She was the ideal travelling companion, full of zest, interested in everything, completely philosophical whatever happened. While I called on the booksellers she would sit in some central square and knit, or merely observe the life around her. Between my calls I would dodge along and report what luck I had with orders, and she was as keenly interested as if her own well-being depended upon them.

What was more remarkable was her ability to sleep under any conditions whenever she wanted to and for any length of time. As an illustration of the latter I have known her come down at 3 p.m. ready to catch the 3.15 train to Beckenham to go to her bank. It took between seven and eight minutes to walk to Shortlands station, but Mother liked to allow ten. When she observed the time she would say "Oh! just time for five minutes' sleep", and five minutes good sleep she would have (often with a newspaper over her head!) without any anxiety about waking up at the right moment. She *knew* she would wake up and she always did precisely when she expected. On one occasion we were travelling from Jena to Nuremberg, and to save both time and money decided to travel by a night train, leaving just before twelve and arriving at Nuremberg at 4 a.m. I was full of anxiety lest we should oversleep. Mother had none and went to sleep at once. At 4 a.m. she was as fresh as a daisy; I was tired out and did not observe her put her hat on in the semi-darkness.

After an early breakfast I started calling on the booksellers, and Mother agreed to walk up and down the pavement outside as we had planned to go up to the Castle together afterwards. When I came out from my first call I found her in great distress. She said that while she was walking along the pavement a policemen came and spoke to her. When it was clear that she had understood nothing, he had taken her arm and conducted her to the opposite pavement, and then as soon as she turned round escorted her back

again. I at once questioned the policeman and found that, being very narrow, the pavements were 'one way', so that walking up and down was 'verboten'! But the joke came later. Up at the Castle, after we had watched the donkey turn the wheel that pumps the water, I left Mother for a moment, and on returning found her once again in distress. A girl attendant had been looking most strangely at her and said something in German which, of course, she had not understood. At that moment the girl arrived with a mirror, and Mother observed to her consternation that she had her hat on back to front! As I at once pointed out, her hat had been facing the correct way when the policeman disapproved of the direction in which she was walking! Mother loved amusing incidents of this kind, of which we had plenty on our travels, but the kind of thing she appreciated most was a Sunday morning in the Prater Allee in Vienna in the days of its glory. The parade of pair horse open carriages, with liveried coachmen and footmen, driving at top speed one way, and walking their magnificent horses back the other, was most impressive. The entire aristocracy seemed to turn out and the attractive outdoor cafés were thronged with the *élite*.

Mother's interest in, and devotion to, the Royal Family was intense. She knew their precise relationship to all the ruling families on the Continent, and watched their movements as if they were those of her own children. And the arrival of a royal baby excited her as much as that of another grandchild. But when she read Lytton Strachey's Life of Queen Victoria, and learnt how the Queen had treated her beloved Gladstone, she admitted with a sigh that Victoria had really been very "naughty".

The fundamental difference between Mother and any other man or woman I have known was the completeness of her faith. No one I have met, save Gandhi, possessed, as she did, the faith that will move mountains. An example of the application of that faith will show what I mean. One of my elder brothers, for reasons which are in this connection irrelevant, had a most serious mental breakdown. Our own doctor and two mental specialists who were called in were unanimously of opinion that it was a type of insanity of which no cure could be anticipated, and that there was no alternative but to certify him. My mother merely smiled and said with complete assurance "He is going to get well and he is not going to be sent to an asylum". Against most emphatic advice, given because of a tendency to violence, he was kept at home with a male mental nurse in constant attendance. The only person in our household who was not scared of him was my mother. His constant shouting and uncertain behaviour wore the rest of us out. After we had endured the prolonged nervous torture, because that was what it amounted to, for about three months, my father and

we others said that we could stand it no longer, and pleaded with Mother to allow him to be certified and sent away. Her immediate reply was "Very well, I will take him away. He is going to recover, so there can be no question of putting him away"; and take him away by herself with the male nurse she did.

Within another two months he had recovered sufficiently to be brought home again, and in the end he became completely well. Her faith had made him whole. On one occasion, when he was still in the violent stage, Mother visited him alone in his room upstairs. He rushed at her with the intention of throwing her out of the window, which, in view of her diminutive size, he could easily have done. She just smiled at him and said, "You wouldn't do that". The completeness of her confidence checked him. Recalling the incident later my brother admitted that had she shown even a flicker of fear his threat would have been carried out. But Mother had no fear; "Perfect love casteth out fear".

Another incident comes to my mind which illustrates her unusual character. A fashionable lady from Bromley drove up in a carriage and pair in a state of great excitement to announce that her dressmaker, Miss Haynes, whom she had learnt Mother also employed, had locked herself up in her little room with several bottles of spirits and had not left the room for any purpose for three (it may have been four) days and nights; that she refused to open the door; was incoherent, and as far as could be seen through the keyhole, was lying on the floor; and would Mother do something about it. Why she came to Mother instead of tackling the job herself she did not explain. After she left, Mother said she was going down to see what she could do. I refused to let her go alone and accompanied her. As all the hammering on the door had had no effect, I decided that we must try bluff and yelled, "Fire!". There was a slight stir, a figure dragged itself along the floor and turned the key. I have seen some filthy pigsties in my day, but they were pleasant compared with the sight that met our eyes! There on the floor in the midst of the mess was a black and indescribably dirty mass of humanity, sodden with urine and worse. The stench was revolting. After one glance Mother observed calmly, "We cannot expect the other people here to deal with this; we must take her home". I could only gasp. "You had better get a cab", she said. The struggle to get that huge, sodden mass down the stairs (she was a big woman, quite six feet in height) is one I shall never forget because she was incapable of walking by herself. The cabman had a good deal to say about being expected to convey her, but we got her home. "I can't ask the maids to give her a bath; I must do it myself", said my mother on arrival, and do it she did, after cutting away the mess in which

the good dressmaker was embalmed, because 'undressing' was, of course, an impossibility. When the process was all over and the one-time garments had been burnt, Mother smilingly remarked, "Well, she won't be able to leave the house now to get anything more to drink because she hasn't any clothes!" The fact that her detention against her will was illegal; the knowledge that it might be necessary to nurse her through an attack of delirium tremens, left Mother unmoved. She had set her hand to the plough and there was no turning back; in our best spare room Miss Haynes remained until she could be trusted to make a fresh start. Mother knew that she could be cured, and cured she was.

During the troublous times when Father was so worried about his inability to sell 'The Mount', Mother, who had no wish to be uprooted at the end of her life, used constantly to assert, "You will have no difficulty in selling when the *right* time comes". As always, her faith was justified. A year or two after her death, and at the appropriate moment, Father received an acceptable offer which enabled him to move to less expensive quarters.

Mother's fearlessness and readiness for anything new showed themselves in many ways. No sooner were motor cars invented than she was all agog to try them, and as soon as I could afford it I hired cars to take her for drives, and shared and enjoyed the thrill they gave her. Long before it seemed probable, she frequently told me that I should live to fly, but that she was afraid she wouldn't. When the Zeppelins came over during World War I nothing would induce her to take cover; night or day she wanted to see them, and out she would go when others sought shelter.

Like her elder sister, she had the strongest views about 'Women's Rights', and they sometimes revealed themselves in curious ways. My father had to include her income in his income tax return. In so far as it concerned the revenue from the Mrs. Martindale and Sisters Trust, so providently provided by James Spicer, the figures were available. But in the course of years Mother had saved and invested a few hundred pounds as a reserve for any emergency. That was her money; it had nothing to do with anyone else; the law did not compel *her* to disclose the amount (she was correct; it didn't), and despite all his entreaties she resolutely refused to tell Father the amount to be included in his 'return' and he just had to guess it. The amusing part was that as Mother trusted me with her accounts I knew the precise figure, and was able to give Father the comforting assurance that his guess was correct. The fact was that Mother had (quite rightly) no confidence in Father's judgment in financial matters, and felt that the less he knew about her affairs the better. Where we should have been without Mother's business acumen I do not know.

Her interest in missionaries was profound. We must have entertained hundreds, and often complete families, and for long periods. We children often resented their intrusion into our family life, but it made no difference. Mother's philosophy of entertaining and hospitality was definite. She had a poor opinion of entertaining people who could and probably would entertain you in return, and we did practically none. But entertaining those who needed it and could do nothing in return was quite different. That she would put herself out to do. When I was twenty-two Mother, having had nine children of her own, more or less adopted two more. They were daughters of missionaries, and both were in too precarious a state of health to remain at school. They lived with us for years, recovered completely, and are both now happily married with children of their own. Later in life, when I spent eighteen months travelling round the world, I found that my parents, having no sins which could descend upon their children, had passed on the benefit of their virtues. Everywhere, even in the most distant places, I encountered missionaries, or more frequently the successful sons of missionaries, ready or anxious to help or entertain me.

Before my return (at the end of 1913) my parents had themselves, at the age of 73, set off with my younger sister, on a world tour in order to visit my three brothers in New Zealand.

Mother's dislike of any form of prevarication was intense. She could not abide any conduct which was not as she would say, "up and down straight". Her unselfishness and thoughtfulness for others had no bounds. Although I was her Benjamin, and being for so long the only son at home had become her mainstay, no tinge of possessiveness, let alone jealousy, marred her relationship with my wife, to whom she was greatly attached. Did not the Bible say, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife"? and to Mother the Bible was the word of God. I paid her regular visits during the seven years following my marriage—usually on Saturday afternoons after playing tennis at the covered courts at Dulwich—and to the end she wanted to be satisfied that Mary approved, which Mary always did because she shared my devotion.

But Mother's thoughtfulness extended to those at whose hands she had suffered much. Just before her end she asked me to look after Elizabeth, our old cook who had been such a trial to her and who was then an old-age pensioner of eighty with, as it proved, quite a long life ahead of her. One of the most touching tributes paid to my mother after her death was from the working women of Shortlands, who wove an exquisite garland of flowers culled from their own gardens in memory of "one they would never forget".

Until her marriage Mother lived in luxury; thereafter she was content herself to do without. She adored jewellery, but I can remember only one occasion when my father was permitted to give her any, because as she would say, "There are so many things more urgently needed." When funds were low, as they often were, and I asked for anything she would never say, "No". She would answer, "Just think whether you could not do without it and let me know tomorrow". Well, there are few things that survive that test, and later in life I used teasingly to tell her that the most valuable lesson she had taught me was how to do without. It gave one such complete independence of material things.

A year before Mother died she was at death's door and I was summoned to her side. She was only just conscious, but was able to make it clear that she was ready to depart. I said to her, "Mother, you simply must stay; we cannot do without you". She paused, obviously reluctant to make the effort, and then said quietly, "If God has more work for me to do here I shall stay". In her mind there was never any doubt that "All things work together for good to them that love God", and she had patience to abide the Lord's good time. A year later when she had a further severe attack of pneumonia (she had been down on her knees mending a carpet the previous day) I was at Wernigerode in the Harz Mountains, staying at the hotel where some years before she and I had had some happy days together. When I got back from a long day's tramp the post office had just closed so that I did not get the telegram telling me of her illness until the following morning. I hurried back, but before I arrived she had passed on, relieved, I sometimes think, that I was not there to call her back again from the peace that passeth all understanding. I kissed that beloved face for the last time and walked out into the brilliant sunshine to look at the Spring flowers in the garden, where my wife and I had so recently observed the ecstatic joy with which Mother walked up and down with our baby daughter Ruth in her arms. We had lost our first little girl, named after my mother Elizabeth Spicer Unwin, and Ruth was all the more precious to her on that account. There was now nothing left for me to do except place a few forget-me-nots in those dear, placid hands, which had toiled so devotedly for others conscious that her spirit remained with us, and confident that her unswerving faith that we should meet again must be justified.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AS EXORCISM

By H. J. S. Guntrip, B.A., B.D.

How often does the 'old' reappear in a new guise! It has been said that there is nothing new under the sun. In some sense it must be true that every fresh attempt to understand the mental operations and troubled experiences of human beings is a re-working of age-old and familiar problems with, perhaps, each time some glimpse of new truth. Freud's theory of conflict between super-ego and id was not in principle different from St. Paul's conflict between the law of the mind and the law of the members. Many an ancient way of stating our basic human problems had a core of truth based on intuitive insight, which modern scientific explanation does something to clarify.

Perhaps the most startling and challenging of all the traditional explanations of abnormalities and disturbances of human experience and behaviour was the theory of demon-possession. In our modern scientific world this has long since been discarded as superstition; yet the tenacious hold it had on man's thought from the earliest times of which we have knowledge up to the dawn of modern psychiatry might give us pause. Was the belief perhaps a blind and ill-understood glimpse of something real in human experience, which awaited explanation? The too hasty discarding of the belief has, it would seem, almost lost for us a piece of insight of overwhelming importance to the understanding of man. Psycho-analytical research now begins to make it clear that *there really is a sense in which other personalities find lodgment within our own, and become buried in the unconscious where they then become parts of the hidden structure of our personality constituting an inner world of persecutors, sinister figures, or 'devils' who torment us and give us no peace.*

Freud, in a paper entitled *A Neurosis of Demoniacal Possession in the Seventeenth Century*[1], analysed the story of a medieval artist who made a pact with the Devil, and he reached the conclusion that the demons who possessed the artist were his own bad impulses repressed into the unconscious. Fairbairn, re-examining the case[2], shows that this account of the demons is altogether too impersonal. Fairbairn's explanation, which is bound up with the whole 'object-relations' theory and its quite fresh explanatory approach to the

1 Freud. *Collected Papers.* Vol. 4, pp. 436-72.

2 Fairbairn. *The Repression and Return of Bad Objects.* Brit. J. of Med. Psych. Vol. 19, pts. 3 and 4.

unconscious, we must defer for the moment, so that we may come back to it via an important digression, but in a better position to appreciate the issues involved.

Meanwhile we may simply say that analysts meet with many phenomena which revitalize the old concept of demon-possession and it is very doubtful whether human beings, however sophisticated, ever really lose this belief. Spiritualism is only an attempt to give it a beneficent turn. Patients under analytical treatment not infrequently say "I feel as if I had a devil inside me", or "it's as if there were something there inside getting at me". At stages in analysis when these 'internal bad objects' are drawing near to consciousness, they will produce terrifying dreams of evil and murderous figures, sometimes of torturers beating up the victimized dreamer in a concentration camp. The stories of the ascetics abound in dreams of devils. Yet again these phantastic inhabitants of the mental world may be projected into the outer world and then patients will complain of feeling haunted, of 'feeling a presence', of 'being followed' of 'seeing things', of feeling someone is there when there is not. The projection may be into actual other persons and then the patient feels faced with human devils, surrounded by enemies, feeling everyone is against him, and he becomes paranoid. What does all this mean? The true explanation is emerging in certain new developments of psycho-analytic theory associated chiefly with the work of Melanie Klein and W. R. D. Fairbairn.

But at this point we will digress for a while. Psycho-analysis was so much the personal creation of one man of genius, Sigmund Freud, that it has proved singularly difficult to develop psycho-analytical theory along any line that diverged from his basic positions. Moreover the contributions of his critics, not even excluding Jung, were in no way comparable to his own for sheer power in opening up the investigation of the abnormally difficult problems of the deep, hidden regions of the mind. Nevertheless, no science can remain tied to the genius of one man, and psycho-analysis, especially, ought not to be stultified by a father-fixation on its founder. Freud's theories necessarily bear the stamp of the intellectual period, from 1880 onwards, in which they were formulated. Many have felt, indeed, that the full importance of Freud's own discoveries would not be apparent until psycho-analytic theory escaped from the stranglehold of some of his basic philosophic and theoretical assumptions.

In October, 1950, and January, 1951, this Journal contained two articles of mine which aimed at assessing *The Permanent and the Passing in Freud* and *Recent Developments beyond Freud* In October, 1951, a third article was contributed by Dr. H.

Edelston entitled, *Freudian Psychology: A Corrective*. It appears that he felt dissatisfied with my presentation, for he writes: "It is my purpose to follow on a previous attempt to evaluate 'The Permanent and the Passing in Freud' (footnote Guntrip loc. cit.) . . . with I hope more fruitful benefit for the minister". His article provides important material for bringing out still more clearly certain fundamental issues I wished to clarify.

Edelston leads up to his major criticism with minor criticisms of Freudian rigidity, determinism, hedonism, and subjectivism. In the main I agree with what he says, though with some reservations. In charging Freudians with "extreme rigidity" and only "very slow modifications" he writes: "Such modifications as are made, usually hailed as new discoveries, are often nothing more than a formulation in the set Freudian terminology (now a jargon as sacrosanct as the dogma of any religious creed) of material from other sources". To that I must demur. Psycho-analysis today is not truly represented as nothing but a rigid and sacrosanct body of dogma. Thus in the *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, 1951, Part IV, M. Balint, a recognized Freudian analyst, writes: "It does not matter at all whether the contributor of a new idea has or has not been loyal to Freud; the only thing that matters is whether the new idea proves to be true or untrue". (p. 327). The position is similar to that found in religion, politics, non-analytical psychiatry, and in every sphere where ideology, theory and systematized doctrine are found. There is a conservative and orthodox right wing, usually in a majority; there are moderates or eclectic 'middle-coursers'; and there are left-wing pioneers. In psycho-analysis a self-avowed champion of orthodoxy is Dr. E. Glover. Dr. Marjorie Brierley belongs to a middle group and her articles on *Personalism* and on *Integrative Living* (*Int. J. of Psych-An.* 1945 and 1947) treat religion in a very different way from that of Freud. Pioneers include Karen Horney, Melanie Klein and Fairbairn.

As for "modifications . . . usually hailed as new discoveries" being "nothing more than a formulation in set Freudian terminology, of material from other sources," it is difficult to know what this somewhat depreciatory comment is aimed at: and, likewise, Edelston's statement about accepting "the purposeful and goal-seeking nature of human instinctive activity as described at the time by McDougall and others, which has now been brought up and elaborated as a brand new 'discovery' by a new school of analysts (cf. the article by Mr. Guntrip)." That misses the very point which is important. McDougall's theory of instincts (increasingly discarded by academic psychologists) is mainly a *reactive* theory, not an *object-relations* theory. Moreover, it is

clear from a first-hand study of Fairbairn's work how much of "the set Freudian terminology" is discarded, and how much new insight there is, not to be found elsewhere in analytic or psychiatric literature. The id, the pleasure-principle, innate anal eroticism, the centrality of the Oedipus situation, the classic theories of libidinal phases (Freud-Abraham), of infantile narcissism, and of instincts are all discarded in favour of radically new re-interpretations of the facts. There is no parallel elsewhere to Fairbairn's theories of the schizoid process, the repression of 'psychic bad-objects' as distinct from impulses, the 'object-relations' theory of the unconscious and of endo-psychic structure; nor of his manner of dealing with the 'moral defence' and his view that psycho-neuroses spring from the pre-moral and not from the super-ego level of development. Edelston apparently wishes to convey the impression that psycho-analysis is now stagnant and that nothing much new now comes from it. He writes: "The major and more important progress in psychology today comes from other than strictly psycho-analytic circles". I am unable to accept that judgement as correct.

Naturally, certain broad basic assumptions of the 'object-relations' theory are to be found widely expressed elsewhere. Ten years before Fairbairn's *Revised Theory of the Psychoses and Psychoneuroses* (1942), the leading ideas concerning personal object-relations were being expressed philosophically by John MacMurray and Martin Buber, and psychologically in Karen Horney's first book (1937). They are to be found in the writings of enlightened theologians, sociologists, and educationalists. The trend towards dealing with man, not simply as a biological, instinctual organism but as a person fashioned in the context of personal relationships, is a general characteristic of the thought of the last twenty years or more. Ian Suttie was one of the psychotherapists to appreciate it early in *The Origins of Love and Hate* (1935). All important individual contributions grow out of a developing atmosphere of thought in a given cultural period.

Fairbairn relates his "non-atomistic conception" of psychic life to the fundamental changes in physics and the modern scientific world-view. Nevertheless Fairbairn, for the first time, has worked out a radical psychopathology and psychodynamic theory, including a theory of the structure of the psyche and of the unconscious, in terms of personal object-relations, and not of instincts: and has radically revised the classic Freudian libido theory in the process. He has accomplished this by utilizing Klein's theory of the 'internal psychic object' and he defines *psychology* as the study of the relations of the individual to his external objects, and *psychopathology* as the study of the relations of the ego with its internal

objects. This brings us back to our starting point, 'demon-possession', and to make this clear we must return to Edelston's further criticism of Freud.

The important issue, in criticizing Freud or any other theory-maker, is not the number of separate points of disagreement we can find, but whether they are related to one another and to some one central issue, the understanding of which will give us a constructive and not a merely piecemeal approach. Edelston criticizes Freud's determinism, hedonism and subjectivism. We may consider these points separately, but need to seek their lowest common denominator. Thus determinism is not a special characteristic of Freudian theory: it is an even more marked feature of Behaviourism, and crops up in any theory which attempts to reduce psychology to a science in the narrow sense in which it was universally understood in Freud's creative years, and is still so understood by many today in spite of developments in mathematical physics. The real issue is, in what sense can there be a *science* of personality? G. W. Allport's book, *Personality*, shows that the need is now felt to achieve a scientific study, not of "the human mind-in-general", or of man as a biologically-determined organism, but of "the individual person" as such. Metaphysical determinism ceases to be a necessary postulate of psychological study when science accepts the reality of the individual person as such. For psychology the 'individual' must be an autonomous ego. Determinism in a more limited sense remains as a necessary working hypothesis in clinical practice. It is the recognition of the fact that every mental act has its discoverable cause in McDougall's sense of purposive, not mechanistic, causation: i.e., every mental act or process is motivated, consciously, unconsciously, or both; and only by discovering its motive can it be understood and changed. All our reactions, conscious and unconscious, spring from the total structure of our personality. Psycho-analytic determinism is an application of Heraclitus's principle that "a man's character is his fate" (535-475 B.C.).

As for the charge of *subjectivism*, which Edelston regards as a source of great difficulty in Freudian psychology, it is the whole purpose of psycho-analysis to bring home to us the extent to which the subjective colours the objective. He says the analyst is given "a picture of the world entirely from the patient's point of view, i.e., entirely subjective. Now neurotic patients are notoriously lacking in satisfactory personal and social relationships. The basis of their abnormality lies in their ego-centricity, and in the way their lives are heavily overshadowed by greeds, hates and/or fears".

As I write this soon after a political general election, I find it impossible to restrict his words to neurotic patients. All human

beings live in two worlds, one external, material and objective, the other internal, psychic and subjective. No human being is exempt from interpreting his external world in the light of his subjective inner world and reacting to it accordingly. The important question is, what is the nature of this inner world? Edelston makes an important point when, after describing the subjective world as a region of "greeds, hates and fears", he says: "The difficulty, then, is to find the emotional drives that give satisfying social contacts". But that difficulty arises because the inner world is regarded as constituted essentially of impulses. There are, of course, plenty of repressed impulses in this inner world of the unconscious mind, and moreover at the deepest levels they are all bad ones from the ethical-social point of view, and when they break through into consciousness they make normally good social relations impossible. I agree with Edelston that Freud's theory of the 'id', from which are supposed to come instinctual drives, is a theory of human nature as basically non-altruistic in which there is no room for natural emotional drives of an altruistic order that could "give satisfying social contacts".

As an answer to this Edelston puts forward the view that "the tender impulse is quite independently derived" from sexuality. I cannot feel that that is the right answer. To begin with it harks back to an atomistic view of human nature as constituted of a number of independently derived instincts. Modern thinking is veering further and further away from this type of theory, in the direction of a 'holistic' account of man. Nor would Edelston's view help us over the fact that true altruistic impulses do not occur at the deepest levels in the inner unconscious world.

This is a suitable point at which to indicate that Fairbairn has provided a far more comprehensive and satisfying answer. Freud held an atomistic view of man as comprising a number of independent and 'component' instincts needing to be fused in the course of development, while the 'ego' was a superficial and secondary phenomenon, again composed, in Dr. E. Glover's view, by fusion of "ego-nuclei". These instincts seek purely subjective pleasure, and objects (i.e. persons) are degraded to the level of means, not ends. I agree entirely when Edelston says: "The inevitable result of reducing all sexual behaviour to sensual pleasure is to degrade the sexual act to a process of mutual de-tensioning in which each partner seeks primarily his or her own satisfaction . . . it completely ignores the rôle of affection in satisfactory relations between the sexes".

These difficulties disappear if we accept Fairbairn's view that to begin with the ego and the psyche are one and the same thing. There is no impersonal id which later gives rise to a superficial

ego which it then bombards and invades with sensual or aggressive impulses. From the first glimmering of psychic activity the ego is there. It is a unity with various potential reactions to objects, but its basic elementary striving is towards objects themselves and the achieving of good-object relationships. Pleasure is a very real experience, but it is not what is sought. It is the sign of the possession of a good-object relationship. Its earliest form is no doubt the baby's bliss at the breast which includes libidinal satisfaction together with the earliest form of love, affection, tenderness, all in one. Fairbairn holds that love represents the primary reaction to objects, while aggression does not arise independently of frustration. *The basic fact in psychology is the infantile, libidinal, loving, ego as object-seeking; not impersonal instincts as pleasure-seeking.* Thus the difficulty about finding "the emotional drives that give satisfying social contacts" (Edelston) disappears: such drives are the basic form of human activity. It is the socially and ethically 'evil' impulses, "the greeds, hates and/or fears which cannot be made the basis of enduring social or personal relationships" (Edelston) that are secondary, and arise as a result of the frustration of the primary drive to good-object relationships.

To this, an important addition has to be made. It is true the infant loves, libidinally and emotionally, seeking a good-object (at first the breast, then the mother) for its intrinsic goodness, but it loves in an infantile way. It is fundamentally dependent, needy, and its attitude is of necessity a 'getting' or 'taking in', incorporating attitude. The love-situation is one-sided because of the infant's immaturity, though it contains real elements of mutuality. The path of development to maturity is from a 'getting' to a 'giving' attitude, from the need to 'take in' to a capacity to 'give out'. The fully mature adult both gets and gives in one natural whole of experience. Infantile sexuality is oral because it is of the incorporating kind. Mature sexuality is genital because it is of the co-operating kind. The sexual attitude in adult life is determined, and sexual functioning is controlled, by the degree of immaturity or maturity of the character of the whole person. *It is the infantile, immature, needs and impulses emerging in adult life that constitute anti-social drives. In their proper infantile setting they were simply natural. In an adult character that ought to have become capable of mature and fully co-operative relationships and specifically developed altruistic feelings, they appear as greedy, destructive and hateful. But at every stage of human development our basic object-seeking drive is certainly both libidinal and affectionate.* To separate these two aspects is to set up a false dualism of body and mind. However, what can be said

is that in infancy the bodily aspect of object-relationships predominates, and with development the spiritual aspects come more and more to the fore.

My one complete and definite disagreement with Edelston emerges at this point. He holds "that the function of parental love is primarily protective, that the mother is the source of safety to the child in a potentially dangerous and 'hostile' world and that sensuous elements in this relationship are comparatively independent and of secondary consequence in social relationships". This view is reached as a result of the analysis of anxiety, and is thus clearly a description of a secondary, i.e., disturbed situation, not of the primary one. Edelston writes: "Anxiety is due to the fear of the loss of *protective love* . . . In order to maintain mother's protective affection, in the earliest years a child foregoes (represses) any activity that might seriously alienate his parent. *Self-preservation antedates sex.*" (My italics.)

There is, of course, no doubt about a baby's need of *protective* love, but infantile helplessness "in a dangerous and hostile world" is here described from the point of view of the adult observer. To make that the basis of the infant's own psychology, and to make self-preservation the basic drive, is a negative theory. Mother's love is merely for warding off something, not for giving something. Mother's love has thus only utilitarian value as a protection against dangers. Surely it has rather an intrinsic value as a positive 'good' in itself, a libidinal and emotional relationship in which the child finds the fulfilment and satisfaction of which it is capable at that stage, and of which, the pleasure it feels is the sign. The primary drive is positive, a by no means weak and helpless, but strong insistent demand for, and need of, mother as a good-object. The fear of loss of love and the need for protection, are secondary and dependent on frustration, and arouse first, anger and aggression, and second, fear and anxiety. *The mother's function is primarily to give the baby a personal relationship for its own sake as an intrinsic good. The fact that that has protective utility if need arises is secondary.* The real fear of loss of the mother is the dread of losing a valuable, needed good-object with whom the baby has both a libidinal (sensuous) and affectionate relationship. Thus Edelston's view that: "Self-preservation antedates sex" is the very reverse of the truth. In my article *The Permanent and the Passing in Freud* I stressed the fundamental importance of Freud's discovery of infantile sexuality (i.e., a positive, pleasurable, sensuous relation to the mother) when properly interpreted in a psychological, and not in a purely biological way; and Freud is, I am sure, right as against his critics, at that point.

We can now take the last step in our argument. Frustrations do arise. The child sooner or later does find situations of danger occurring. The loving mother turns into the deserting or absent mother, or the cross, impatient and scolding mother. The child is faced, not with a good-object, but with a bad-object, who excites needs which are not met and arouses fears which are not allayed. The best parents will inevitably play the role of 'frustrating bad-objects' at times and be magnified in the baby's intensely emotional perception into terrifying figures. The baby cannot cope with its bad-objects in the outer-world. But it has an inner psychic world, and the parents, and subsequently other persons, as bad-objects, are taken into that inner world and repressed into the unconscious. There they continue to arouse in the child fear and hate and intensified need or greed. The child cannot give them up because they are parents, and cannot tolerate them because they are libidinally bad. Part of the ego is in fact split off and repressed through its attachment to these bad-object figures, and in the deepest layers of the unconscious we all live in a secret world, as it were surrounded by persecutors, internalized bad objects. *The deep unconscious is always a bad world because it is created as a means of getting rid of precisely the bad, upsetting aspects of our earliest experiences in object-relationships. We are possessed by devils and they return to plague us in nightmare dreams, and lie hidden behind phobic, hysteric, paranoid and other symptoms, and in behaviour disorders. It is not our bad-impulses which are the real trouble. It is our repressed internal bad-objects, the demons of the deep unconscious, that are the trouble, for it is they who evoke the bad impulses.*

These internal bad-objects are not, of course, equally bad in everyone. Probably no baby can escape, at times, forming frightening impressions of his world, for he has no critical faculty to correct his intensely emotional perception. In a normally good home, the baby grows to experience an ever more understanding and affectionate relationship with parents; and early, emotionally distorted experience is corrected. Nevertheless Fairbairn is undoubtedly right in saying that internal repressed bad-objects exist at the deepest levels of the unconscious of everyone. Many patients, whose home life in childhood was not exceptionally difficult, are found to be haunted in their dreams, and sometimes nightmares, by frightening figures. The analysis of a person who has grown up in a really bad home shows to the full what a terrifying hell, peopled by devils, the unconscious can be. One patient, in the late thirties, had parents who were church members, though the father was a violent tempered man and the mother an aggravating dominating woman. The patient as a child often lay in bed

trembling as the parents quarrelled downstairs, and often witnessed violent scenes. Once when talking out the early memories with visible stress of emotion, she said, "I feel my head will burst. They are all in there quarrelling inside me. I can't stand it. It's the feeling I get when I wake with a start, terrified, in the night". In her dreams she was constantly haunted by men breaking into her room to attack her.

Deep psycho-analysis is thus exorcism, a drawing back to consciousness and casting out of these internal persecutors. They are the real originals of the witches of folk-lore and the evil spirits of primitive religions, and of the sinister figures of dreams. Their inner presence creates the many nameless and irrational fears of the mentally ill, and occasions the oft-repeated neurotic cry of "I'm afraid of something and don't know what it is". The last and deepest difficulty in curing these troubles comes from what Fairbairn calls the libidinal attachment to bad-objects because they are at bottom parent-figures.

The problem of casting out these devils lies, as has been said, in the fact that they are repressed not only in order to get rid of them from consciousness, but also to *keep* them in secret because they are, after all, parents, and cannot be dispensed with. One little girl, asked by a psychiatrist if she would not rather leave a bad home where drunken parents fought and her mother beat her cruelly, at once answered: "No, I want my *own* Mummy". Emotional attachment to parents grows with need, and the worse the home, the harder it is to leave in an emotional sense: and it is retained in the unconscious. When psycho-analysis reaches the deepest unconscious it is like trying to persuade a frightened child to leave a very bad home and go away with a stranger. Usually it will cling to the bad it knows rather than seek a promised good it does not know. In psycho-analytic treatment, not until at last the patient has acquired a deep-seated trust in the analyst as a good-object, will he be able to yield up and let go the devils who haunt him within.

As we grow up, so far as our conscious personality is concerned we leave home and attach ourselves to new love-objects of our own free choosing. But deep down we have already repressed, and thus preserve, a part of ourselves which never leaves home and never gives up our original family love-objects even in the disturbing forms in which they are buried in the unconscious. The worse they were, the more our anxiety tied us to them then and now; and we remain shut up, deep within ourselves, in an unhappy and frightening world. This is illustrated by the dream of a woman in the middle fifties. "I was in a room with one or two people. A man came in with a peculiar look on his face, hardly human, an evil,

sinister face like that of the demon-king Mephistopheles. He had a long whip and began to whip a boy in the room who had short knickers and bare legs. I felt the lash on his bare legs as if it were myself, and I tried to protest or shout, and the demon turned on me. I realized what was coming and tried to get away but he caught me. There was no escape and I screamed. No human person could help me and I woke screaming out 'O, God help me!'." This nightmare brought up two memories; the first, of seeing her father give her brother such a severe whipping that the mother interfered (as the dreamer did in the dream); the second, of the last beating her father gave her, at the age of 15, with a strap, when she experienced both fear and intense physical (sexual) excitement. She remarked: "Being beaten was better than being ignored" so the 'beating father' is secretly retained as a demon in the unconscious, and the relationship re-experienced as a nightmare.

Finally we note briefly, without elaborating, the bearing of this on religion and morality. Concerning religion, the following quotation from Fairbairn is relevant; it refers to the medieval artist, Christoph Haitzmann, the subject of Freud's paper. "Christoph's symptoms were only relieved when he invoked the aid of a good object . . . the Blessed Virgin in the chapel at Mariazell. He did not achieve freedom from relapses, however, until he had been received into a religious brotherhood and had thus replaced his pact with the Devil by solemn vows to the service of God. This was presumably a triumph for the moral defence". (Op. cit., p. 334.)

Thus good and supporting external object-relations can counteract the influence of bad objects in the unconscious; but they are, so to speak, neutralized but not exorcized by these means. It is an example of good companions being our best defence against bad ones.

Concerning morality many difficult problems arise. So long as aggressive and/or unrestrained sexual impulses are understood to be simply aspects of the character of an individual, it is natural to hold him responsible for controlling them. Whatever has to be said of their origin, they are of course, from the social point of view, simply manifestations of individual character. The person who experiences them accepts them as his reactions to his outer world of the immediate present, knowing nothing consciously of their origin as appropriate reactions to frightening or frustrating bad objects in an inner world which is unconscious. The moral demands of society, experienced as guilt, do help him to control them. It is, however, obvious that from a deeper point of view, the matter is far more complex; and to expect a person to achieve

moral control in face of a very bad unconscious situation, is like expecting a man not to be angry with or afraid of his guards in a concentration camp, or greedy at the sight of food kept out of reach while he starves. The fact is that moral control of turbulent impulses which surge up into the conscious waking self from the inner unconscious world is a precarious matter. If internal bad objects are bad enough, the devils can evoke emotions and impulses so violent that the ego is helpless before their onslaught, and, as in psychosis, is overwhelmed. Cases of sexual perversion and neurotic behaviour disorder lie midway between the psychotics, of whom we do not expect moral control, and the normal people where it is relatively effortless and unapparent. These cases reveal that the sufferer puts up a tremendous struggle to control the reactions whose origin he does not understand, and succeeds far more often than he is credited with. But often his "will" is overborne by the strength of his "compulsions", and he is entitled to something other than just another dose of harsh moral condemnation from those who are not possessed by the unconscious devils who haunt and goad him.

Editor's note: We regret that in our January number the name of Dr. Harold Ockenga was misspelled (page 45); and that Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, who is of course a Presbyterian, was described as a Methodist (page 84).

THE PEOPLE TO WHOM WE WITNESS

By Glynmor John, M.A.

The function of a prophet, and therefore of a prophetic Church, is two-fold. On the one hand, it is to minister the word of God to the people within the city walls; on the other it is to mount the watch-tower to try to take the measure of what is happening in the territory around. If we are to be a witnessing Church we must not only live by our Gospel but also live with our age. We must try to know the condition and temper of the people to whom we witness, as well as know the power and truth of the Gospel in our own lives. Yet it is never easy to read the signs of the times, and it may well be that some of my emphases may be thought to be misplaced and some of my diagnoses distorted. What I write, then, is entirely a personal testimony.

On the face of it our age shows some sharp paradoxes. The tide of scientific advance is in full flood and continually rising, yet modern man is becoming more and more afraid of his growing powers. It is an age in which fundamental themes are being debated, yet there seems to be an increasing prevalence of cynicism and immersion in superficialities. There is a widespread longing for a sense of personal value, but at the same time a declining faith in the importance of personal character. There is the bringing together of vast numbers of men and women into organized undertakings, and yet this often generates a spurious individualism. There is the spread of egalitarianism, but it threatens to debase personality.

One of the first things we encounter in our efforts to witness is widespread cynicism; a cynicism that far from being careless is becoming angry. Seebohm Rowntree and G. R. Lavers believe there is a growing angry cynicism towards the churches and any appeal to idealism. Those who are preparing themselves to be witnesses cannot assume that the Gospel of the love of God will be gratefully heard. On the contrary. They may be tempted therefore to react with condemnation. I believe they are called rather to a humble attempt to understand. The distrust of the churches, and, what is still more important, of religion itself goes deep. There is a widespread belief that, exceptions notwithstanding, it is of the real nature of religion to be conservative and intellectually timid. It will require great humility, as well as patient integrity and love, to re-establish the reputation of the church and of religion in this respect. Another reason for the cynicism of our time is that dreams

of a new world being 'round the corner' have lost their glow. Earlier expectations that institutions, political or religious, are able to create a land of heart's ease, and the belief that the real solution of the troubles of men lies in organization, these are losing ground. The reaction is becoming sour. The current retorts are, "So what?" and "Couldn't care less", and "Doing what comes naturally". Very many people seem content to worry along without value-judgments. Whenever the sense of direct personal obligation to God is absent, and the forces that shape human history seem beyond the reach and control of persons, then it becomes the common thing to ask: "What's the good of being good?" The advent of a cynical attitude towards institutions has not produced a greater emphasis on the importance of personal character. In the very areas of life where personal decision counts most of all, there is the spread of vices like dishonesty and of the tragic sins of passion.

Yet deeper perhaps than all angry cynicism is the felt need for mutual esteem and security. The message of the Master is full of the recognition of this need. Modern England is full of it. It is futile to lecture people, who have no personal experience about the inner resources of God, to be strong and courageous and to stand on their own feet and to be virtuous Stoics. What such people first need is a conviction that someone really cares for them. I think sometimes that in their scarcely-veiled hostility to the Gospel and to the Church of Jesus Christ they are really subjecting us to a test, to make sure that here is a love that is real and reliable. If so, it is a child's reaction, but it is the reaction of a child cruelly testing his mother because he does not feel sure of the love for which he most deeply craves. We shall find a responsible attitude arising in many people only when their longing for appreciation and affection has been met and they no longer fear they are being fooled. Can the Church meet this need? If not, then our culture will deteriorate into a struggle to find satisfaction in 'keeping up with the Jones's'.

And behind it all, too, is fear—the great fear of this age—the fear of the international tomorrow. Parents are fearful of what the world will do and be for their children, and have little belief that God or man will, or can, do anything to avert it. Can we convince them that there is still an eternal reality and value in the Gospel even in such circumstances as these?

Again, great numbers of people live out their working lives in a depersonalizing world—the world of mass production. It might be expected that the bringing together of men in great unified industrial undertakings, and the sharpness of past industrial

struggles, would at least have made them more conscious of how interdependent they are, and that this experience would have firmly established the virtues of loyalty. In fact, persons who are competent to judge (and competent in virtue of their sympathies as well as of their knowledge) now declare that, among the younger generation of artisans, a disturbing proportion simply cannot see how everything they do is tied up with the work of other people. They have a smug pleasure in boasting about standing on their own feet, although they are publicly educated, publicly cared for, have been publicly fought for and socially secured. Experience may have taught the miner and the docker the fact of interdependence and the ethic of loyalty, but it would not appear that large-scale production teaches anything like the same lessons. It may in fact breed a spurious individualism.

But there is also the dog-in-the-manger spirit of the mass-mind. There are signs of it even in our own country. It is an egalitarianism that 'claws-down'. I am not referring to the egalitarianism which attempts to equalize wages and opportunities, but to the debased egalitarianism which snarls at nonconformity with the mass on the cultural, moral and spiritual levels. Someone made the prophecy that this will be "the century of the common man". But the century of the common man must be distinguished from the century of the commonplace man. The pressure and animosity of the mass-mind can be a frightful thing. The ideal, or part-ideal, of many pioneers of the working-man's movement was of the working man rising at last into the appreciation and possession of the treasures of the mind and imagination and spirit. That ideal is in grave danger of disappearing. True, our new educational system has opened up opportunities for any child able to benefit, but the effect is often to 'cream-off', leaving a large deposit with a rankling envy and sense of inferiority expressing themselves, not merely in jealousy of the fortunately gifted, but against the values of the mind as such. I think of the leaders and benefactors of my own peasant people of Wales in the middle of the last century. They fought for social justice, but (products as they themselves were of peasant stock) they also sought to garner treasures of the mind from the cultural achievements of Europe and to make them available to the people. Their little publications like *Y Cronical Bach* (The Little Chronicle) circulated in cottage and farmhouse and became the cultural food of village chapels. This ideal has not the force it once had. Indeed, woe-betide 'the common man', very often today, who is known to pursue these treasures. The pressure of his class is often strong and bitter against him if he treads a path of his own and dares to aspire to levels of mind or spirit, taste or pleasure, that do not conform to the common-placeness of the

mass-mind. His fellow-common-man will 'claw him down'. We must ask: "What are they afraid of?"

These, then, are some of the strands in the temper of the time which seem to me to demand attention.

From the point of view of our greatest concern, the predominant feature of our age is that it is disinterested in God. It is not an essentially religious age. I am not disposed to argue whether there is more or less care and kindliness today than, say, a hundred years ago. You may or may not think there has been an all-round slump in ethical standards. But whether our ordinary life is ethically better or worse, our age is simply not interested in God as God. It is conscious of many profound needs, but not of the distinctively religious need. About man's relation to man there is much concern, as there ought to be, but there is little concern about the decisive relationship of a man to God. It is not a widespread conviction that everything else depends first and last upon how men stand with the Transcendent Being. One result of this is that this is a largely illiterate age, religiously speaking. It has not a religious vocabulary, and some at least of its demand that religious experience be expressed in the language of the street is due to the fact that only the experiences of the street are real to it. I have been urging and attempting throughout my ministry the employment of intelligible terms in our preaching and teaching, but as the Rev. Alan Balding said to us in London recently: "We have not fulfilled our task when we bring St. Paul down to the level of the man in the street; we have to do this to establish a contact at all; but interpretation is a two-way traffic; we have then to try to lead men into the heights and depths, the insights and profundities, of St. Paul." The question of intelligibility is not one of intelligence, but of interest. When one thinks of the vocabulary of many young boys when they talk about machines and thermionic valves, it becomes evident that vocabulary is no stumbling block where interest is alive. We are, of course, raising a generation of people who are much more expert in machines than in spiritual relationships. When I hear the man in the street loudly protesting against the use of terms like permutations I shall be readier to believe him sincere when he says that words like sanctification are a stumbling-block to him. He has no religious vocabulary because he is not interested in religious experience.

There is, I think, such a thing as 'the climate of an age'—ideas, assumptions and attitudes which are common property, resistances and prejudices which have become woven into the texture of the outlook of the age. These are largely the result of the filtering

down of certain modes of thinking and valuing. The levels on which that thinking and valuing first take place are remote from the majority. What was thought remote and abstruse the day before yesterday percolates down to the common level and then colours the whole approach and outlook of the common man. That broad river, now irrigating great tracts of lowland where most men live, was once a spring high up out of their sight and reach. For a long time now, on some levels at least, the fundamental themes of existence have been discussed. The Great Debate of the ages is being vigorously pursued—the stuff of this debate are the eternal issues, the origin of man, the reality behind the universe, the nature of man, the destiny of man, the meaning of history. It is part of the total task of the Christian Church to take stock of what is happening on these levels of thought and speculation. Sometimes, as with Karl Marx, we wake up a generation late to find that thinkers whose works most people have never read have already created the atmosphere people breathe and in which they live. Let us, then, remind ourselves again that this is an age of science, an age of investigation. The appeal is to experience and not to authority. Does it need to be said that a scientist as such, that is, an expert in one particular branch of knowledge, is not to be heard uncritically when he speaks about the validity of religious experience. Some scientists carry little weight outside their own specializations. But the important fact is that the modern age is an age of *ordered* knowledge, and its test is verification in experience. Now this very development of ordered knowledge rests upon and supports a certain philosophy, namely, that there is in the universe a principle of order and consequently rationality. It may be rejoined that there is also evidence of chance in the universe. Nevertheless, it is the factor of order that is significant. It is this principle of order that is the mother of modern knowledge, and the discovery that more and more of the universe is capable of being known in terms of order is the great discovery of modern experience. Here we touch a vital, and seemingly paradoxical, factor. While this is an age of ordered knowledge, God, the unifying Reality, seems unreal to it, while God seemed to be real in an age of unordered knowledge. Why is this? There are two reasons (a) the sometimes churlish and faithless attitude of religious people towards the expansion of scientific knowledge, and (b) because the reality of God to the mind of an age of unordered knowledge was associated with the arbitrary. This change of perspective has seen the practical collapse of the doctrine of Providence, with its preference for 'interventions'. (It was Newman who shrewdly said that the citadel of the Protestantism of his day was the doctrine of Providence). Where stands the belief today? How often is it

preached in our pulpits? Yet, without some sort of doctrine of Providence what is there in religion? A larger conception of Providence, and therefore a larger doctrine of Redemption, is one of the urgent needs of belief today. That larger doctrine will cover the expansion of ordered knowledge, and see the growth of ordered knowledge to be within the gracious Providence of the Eternal Father.

There is to be observed, however, a division within the spirit of our age in connection with its growth of knowledge. For the growth of knowledge is also a growth in human powers, the momentum of which is continually mounting. Yet this Age of Power seems set on becoming the Age of Fear. Modern man is becoming afraid, not of supernatural agencies, not of demonic forces, but of his own powers. This may become the spiritual crisis of our civilization. What should our basic faith be, as Christians? Many Christians fear, religiously and theologically, this increase in man's powers. They think it testifies to man's rejection of the fact of his dependence upon God; they fear the rise of arrogance and the conceit of self-sufficiency (even Mr. Bertrand Russell begins to complain of "cosmic impiety"). What, then, on the basic religious level is our Christian attitude to be?

The answer to the abuse of our powers is not to associate them essentially with human arrogance or to fear them on that ground, but to interpret them in terms of divine provision. Much Christian thinking has been too ready to view with disfavour man's curiosity and man's urge to remake the world, and in so doing has obscured what after all was a primary Christian insight, viz., that God calls man to share in acts of creation. Progress, scientific and technical, must be God's intention. Whose world is it? Who is the Revealer, if not God? Surely we, with our faith in God and Christ, must believe that, whatever man in his folly and sinfulness may do with his knowledge, God's intention in revealing it is wholly gracious. We Christians must interpret theologically this age of scientific expansion. In an age full of fear of the unknown, that dreaded demons behind the mysteries, that tried to make its religion into a circumscribed system and warned men against venturing beyond its frontiers, that told men it was dangerous to knock and seek and ask, Jesus came teaching that all mysteries are in the hands of a gracious Father. He bade them knock at the doors of God's world and they would be opened to them, revealing unimaginable treasures of light and more abundant life. Ask the right questions, and you shall find. Find what? That the question leads to a God whose sole design is for the enhancement of man's life! Is this in fact our initial postulate of faith?

A REFORMER OF THE REFORMED

By A. Appleton Packard, O.H.C.

Behind a throne there is often a power. Behind Plymouth Rock and all that it represents there stood a beloved personality. The influence, both official and personal, which their pastor John Robinson exerted on the Pilgrim Fathers may not be underestimated, though he never set foot in the New World.

With his life in detail we are not here concerned. That has been amply covered by the English scholars, Messrs. Burgess and Burrage. With careful weighing of available evidence, and true historical methods, they unearthed many hitherto unknown facts concerning Robinson. Our task lies rather in a chronological treatment of his theology, with special emphasis on its connections with his New England flock. We begin with a slight sketch of contemporary religious conditions.

The Reformation in Germany as a constructive period may be said to have been brought to a close by the compilation of the *Formula of Concord* in 1577. Upon construction always follows systematization, and the next period was that of the scholastic Lutheran orthodoxy, the natural course of which was interrupted by the Thirty Years' War, bringing in its train great religious demoralization and theological deadness. Calvinism, on the other hand, had its constructive period at about the same time[1] in Switzerland, France and Holland, ending finally in the Synod of Dort in 1618. In this period was embraced its first great conflict, that with Arminianism.

The fundamental connection of New England with all this international ferment and development is seen in the remarkable fact that, in spite of its apparent and real isolation, the same great periods of theological history are repeated here with almost identical dates[2]. Even the microscopic can be microcosmic. So in many respects New England theology is a microcosm[3]. And as English or American Church history as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactorily studied unless the history of Dissent is fully and fairly presented[4], so to gain the proper perspective for any consideration of early American dogmatics we must begin with England, the rock whence it was hewn, and Robinson, whose pervading influence lay back of its first exponents.

The story begins with the landing of the immigrants upon New England shores, and looks forward to the history of the century

1 Foster, 6. 2 Ibid., 7. 3 Ibid., 9.
4 Burrage, *Dissenters*, VII.

thereafter as the background upon which the growth of its theology is to be depicted, a century in which the natural results of the defective theories of the original Calvinism of England and New England united with the universal tendencies of frontier life to produce degeneration and decay. The effect of theological degeneration—for it was no less—in the mother-country, with its deism and Arminianism, contributed to accelerate the downward movement[5].

First among the newcomers were the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth, Mass., in 1620. Though their original church collected at Scrooby, England, was the direct result of the Puritan movement in the Universities, these Pilgrims were for the most part of humble origin, and little fitted to contribute much to the theological development of the new State. There was but one figure among them of sufficient intellectual eminence to engage the attention of subsequent generations, that of John Robinson, the pastor of the little flock at Leyden, Holland, a member of two Universities and the foremost disputant in the ranks of the defenders of Congregationalism.

John Robinson was born in 1575; graduated at Cambridge; became a Fellow in 1598-99; was a minister of the Anglican Church in Norfolk; was suspended for scruples about vestments; ministered some time secretly to the congregation at Scrooby; emigrated with them to Holland in 1608; and became a member of the University of Leyden in 1615; died in Leyden, 1625. He discussed Arminianism publicly with Episcopius, its ablest thinker. His heroic devotion to principle; the picturesque vicissitudes of his career; his intellectual power and breadth; his prophetic vision; and above all, his sincere and deep piety, made him a constant subject of quotation and an acknowledged authority among all the New England churches.

Mather calls him "a most wise, grave, good man"; and Robert Baillie: "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit among the Separatists". In erudite studies, in grave debate with gainsayers, at home and with fellow exiles in Holland, he gradually matured in his own mind, and in the minds of his church, those large and liberal yet definite ideas of ecclesiastical organization and duty which were destined for the coming years profoundly to influence the New England churches. So he became a reformer of the Separation[6], "a man of a . . . pious and studious nature, largely accomplished with suitable gifts and qualifications"[7]. His broad views and generous culture[8] were scarcely characteristic of the Pilgrims as a whole. Indeed, we shall find that there is implicit in

5 Foster, 10. 6 Bacon, *History*, 87. 7 Bacon, *Genesis*, 207.
8 Ibid., 234.

Robinson's system of thought a strong vein of what we may describe as religious rationalism[9].

The reformation which he effected was largely the substitution of Christian charity, with the sparkle of ready wit, for that bitterness which had characterized previous Separatist apologetics. The extravagant vehemence of Robert Browne—supposed founder of Congregationalism—and the tremendous invectives of Barrow, found no place on his pages[10]. Language such as theirs is not paralleled anywhere in his books. About 1588 when Robinson was but a boy, Browne's *Retraction* of his former opposition to the Church of England appeared. It is entitled: *"A Reproof of Certaine Schismatical Persons* [i.e., Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and their Congregation] *And their Doctrine Touching the Hearing and Preaching of the Word of God.* "But you name their abuses (1) Ordinations, seales, licenses (2) Testimonies (3) Fooles coates (4) Masse booke (5) Afterwards you name Anti-Christian government (6) Popish Bishops (7) Courts (8) Commissions (9) Suspensions (10) deposings"[11]. Yet—"If anie man reverently speak against the surplisse, or refuse to weare it, they (the magistrates) winck at it"[12].

Much stronger is the original record of the trial of the Separatist leader, John Penry, in 1593. This is part of his declaration: "Et, nowe, whereas we shoulde have your helpe (Auxilium dicte domine Regine innuendo)—[referring throughout to Queen Elizabeth]—bothe to ioyne ourselfes with the true Churche and to reiect the false and all the ordinances thereof, we are in your kyngdome (regnum dicte domine Regine innuendo) permytted to do neyther but accompted sedycious men yf we affyrme eyther the one or the other of the former poyntes. And therefore Madame you (dictam dominam Reginam innuendo) ar not so moche an adversary unto us poore men as unto Christ Jesus and the wealth of his kyngdom[13] . . . but as for the general state either of the magistracy, or of the mynistery, or of the common people, beholde nothing els, but a multitude of conspiritors against God, against truth, against the building of his house, against his Saints and children: and consequentlie against the wealth of their owne soules and the public peace and tranquility of the whole kyngdome"[14].

John Robinson, non-Conformist divine, was born in Lincolnshire, 1575-6, and grew up there as a boy. Later he attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This clergyman's independence soon became marked, for he was suspended from a benefice in Norfolk when in deacon's orders. He himself mentions a residence in Norwich, where he was religious director of a band of

9 Burgess, 363. 10 Bacon, *Genesis*, 245. 11 Op. cit., 55.
12 Ibid., 56. 13 Op. cit., 19. 14 Ibid., 22.

worshippers, and where certain persons were excommunicated for their interest in his instruction. The company at Scrooby was taught Christian truth and duty from his "saintly" lips, as one writer describes it. Much of the Pilgrim liberality, patient tolerance, and catholic and comprehensive love toward all good men was certainly due to the incomparably wise and Christ-like teaching of Robinson, both at Scrooby and at Leyden, and afterward through the tender and faithful epistles with which he followed them across the sea[15]. Nothing of the bitterness and narrowness of most of the other Separatists, it needs to be emphasized, is found in him[16].

Now, in the years 1600-1608, he had no blind and passionate hostility to the Church of England, nor did it develop afterwards. "Our [Separatists'] faith", he said, "is not a negative, as Papists used to object to Evangelical churches: nor which consists in the condemning of others, and wiping their names out of the beadroll of churches, but in the edifying of ourselves, neither enquire we of any of ours, in their confession of their faith, that they either renounce, or in one word, contest with the Church of England—whatsoever the world clamours of us this way—our faith is founded upon the writings of the prophets and apostles, in which no mention of the Church of England is made. We deem it our duty what is found in them to believe with the heart to righteousness, and to confess with the tongue to salvation (Rom. X:10)".

One significant feature of the little band at Scrooby was covenant-making, so pronounced in England. This drawing up of covenants by Congregational Puritans may not have been a frequent occurrence in England before 1641, but the practice increased as this type of Puritan became more common. John Robinson was a Puritan of this kind and engaged in covenant-making with other Puritan members of the Church of England before he became a Separatist, for he says (p. 60 of the *Justification of Separation,* 1610): "We do with all thankfulness to our God acknowledge, and with much comfort remember those lively feelings of God's love and former graces wrought in us, and that one special grace amongst the rest by which we have been enabled to drawe ourselves into visible Covenant and holy communion. Yea with much comfort and assurances do we call to mynde the Lord's work this way in us, as we doubt not but oure salvation was sealed up into our consciences by most fallible marks and testimonyes (which could not deceave) before we conceaved the least thought of separation; and so we hope it is with others in the Church of Engl. (and) yea and of Rome too"[17].

15 Bacon, *History,* 83. 16 Ibid., 85. 17 Burrage, *Dissenters,* 289.

Spiritual separation from the Church of England was dramatically marked by physical separation from England, and in 1608 Robinson and his followers took up residence across the water in Amsterdam, Holland. Now began not only a busy pastorate and an equally busy series of public debates with theological opponents, but a steady output of books bearing on religious subjects, concerned largely, as is to be expected, with apologetic for the schismatical action undertaken.

Something is added to our knowledge of what he must have been to the Pilgrims, as their pastor and teacher, by this series of his published writings, beginning with the first year of his exile and ending with the year of his death (1625-6)[18]. In 1851 R. Ashton published *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, with a Memoir and Annotations,* in three volumes. Though the text is unfortunately modernized, the book is of much value. A later investigator points out that Mr. Ashton was apparently the first scholar to notice that among the early English Brownists and Anabaptists in Holland the question of the proper *mode* of baptism was never discussed[19]. This is a rather remarkable thing. In this connection Robinson's *Of Religious Communion Private and Publique,* 1617, p. 48, says of John Smith the Se-Baptist (self-baptized) of 1608: "Mr. Smith, Mr. Helw(ys) and the rest haveing utterly dissolved and disclaymed their former Ch(urch) state, and ministery, came together to erect a new Ch(urch) by baptism, unto which they also ascribed so great virtue, as that they would not so much as pray together before they had it. And after some streyning of courtesy, who should begin, . . . Mr. Smith baptized first himself, and next Mr. Helwis, and so the rest, making their particular confessions"[20].

In 1608 the company settled in Amsterdam but in the following year removed, with a larger contingent, to Leyden (or Leiden), where Robinson ministered to a group whose numbers grew from one hundred to three hundred. As for their Scrooby-Leyden church under him, it was in a sense the direct parent of historical "Congregationalism" in England and America. Separatism was now passing into Congregationalism—though the abstract term dates only from the eighteenth century. But "Congregationalism" (due to the rendering of ἐκκλησία by "congregation" in early English Bibles) appears about 1642, to judge from the New English Dictionary. Both in sentiment and language the emphasis changes from protest to calm exposition. In the freer atmosphere of Holland the exiles lose the antithetical attitude, with its narrowing and exaggerative tendency, and gain greater breadth and balance

18 Bacon, *Genesis,* 244. 19 Burrage, *Dissenters,* 10.
20 Burrage, *Dissenters,* 237.

in the assertion of their distinctive beliefs. This comes out in the writings of Robinson, who passed gradually from Puritanism to Separatism at a time when the silencing of some three hundred Puritan clergy by the canons of 1604, and the exercise of the royal supremacy under Archbishop Bancroft, brought these "brethren of the Second Separation" into close relations with the earlier Separatists.

In Leyden Robinson was "ordained" pastor, with William Brewster of Scrooby Manor, Nottinghamshire, as ruling elder. His writings which have come down to us are chiefly occupied with those matters which lay nearest to his heart as a Separatist, as might be expected. Important for this period is the recently-discovered *An Answer to John Robinson of Layden by a Puritan Friend,* a manuscript of 1609. The anonymous author makes quotations from Robinson's letters to him, thus providing us with several extended citations from an otherwise unknown controversial writing, which probably form the major part of Robinson's argument. The pastor writes: "The sundrie acceptions of the word Church by you laid downe I acknowledge for good and to be found in the Scriptures, but not them alone, for besides these by you named, the churche is sometymes taken indefinitelye for manye, or all particular Churches, because manye or all but one in nature, forme, definition, essentiall parties, and propertyes, though not in existence, for soe they are as manye Churches as they are particular assemblyes ecclesiasticall, and spirituall societyes, and in this sense Paule speaketh 1 Cor. 12.28 in which report also in another place also he sayeth, There is one fayth and one baptisme. Eph. IV, 3, and the acception of the word Church wilbe of good use for the question in hand"[21].

The Reformer goes on: "Everye true Church of God is gathered out of the world and separated and sanctified actuallye for the same in religious communion accordyng to the dispensation of the tymes, whether before the Lawe or under the Lawe or since Christe came in the flesh"[22]. He holds that: "Everye true Church of God is joyned with him in holye covenant by voluntarye profession to have him the God thereof and to be his people"[23].

He says elsewhere (*Works* II, 131) of the new "ministry" in Leyden: "We make no dumb ministers; neither dare we admit any man either for a teaching or governing elder of whose ability in prayer, prophesying and debating of church matters we have not had good experience"[24]. Although he admitted that the Dutch churches were formed on the principle of separation from the world he nevertheless testified, and his church with him, against certain

21 Burrage (ed) Op cit., 4. 22 Ibid., 17. 23 Ibid., 21.
24 Bacon, *Genesis,* 232.

deviations from primitive simplicity and purity in the practice of those churches[25]. That Leyden church of his was in some sort a "school of the prophets", for it discovered and tested, and at the same time cultivated the gifts of wisdom and utterance in its members by the "exercise of prophecy".

What "the exercise of prophecy" was, is explained in Robinson's *Catechism*. To the question: "Who are to open and apply the Scriptures in the church?" the answer is: "1. Principally, the bishops or elders, who, by the Word of Life, are to feed the flock both by teaching and government. Acts XX, 28. 2. Such as are out of office, in the exercise of prophecy". Several arguments from the Scriptures are given in proof of that exercise, the fourth and last being an enumeration of "The excellent ends which by this means are to be obtained: as, 1. The glory of God in the manifestation of his manifold graces, I Pet. IV, 10. 2. That the gifts of the Spirit in men be not quenched, 1, Thess. V, 19. 3. For the fitting and trial of men for the ministry. 1 Tim. III, 2. 4. For the preserving pure of the doctrine of the Church, which is more endangered if some one or two alone may only be heard and speak. 1 Cor. XIV, 24.25. 5. For debating and satisfying of doubts, if any rise. 6. For the edifying of the church and the conversion of others. Acts II, 42. Luke IV, 21.23".

"A prophet" in this sense is "he that hath a gift of the Spirit to speak unto edification, exhortation, and comfort. 1 Cor. XIV, 4, 24, 25". "The order of this exercise" is "that it be performed after the public ministry of the teachers, and under their direction and moderation[26], whose duty it is, if anything be obscure, to open it; if doubtful, to clear it; if unsound, to refuse it; if unprofitable, to supply what is wanting, as they are able, 1 Cor. XIV, 3.37; Acts XIII, 15". (Works III, 432-433)[27].

Next, the practice of Robinson's church in regard to those admissible to baptism can be briefly stated in his own words: "We profess withal that no infant . . . of any parents, the one whereof is not faithful, is to be baptized; and practise accordingly. . . . " (*Of Religious Communion, Works,* III, 197)[28]. With respect to the nature of the rite of baptism and the distinctions which justified to Robinson's mind the retention of the "outward baptism" received in the national church, we may give his defence (*Works,* III, 185): "I conclude that there is an outward baptism by water, and an inward baptism by the Spirit; which though they ought not to be severed in their time by God's appointment yet many times are (so severed) by men's default; that the outward baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, administered in an

[25] Ibid, 237.
[26] Bacon, *Genesis,* 239. [27] Ibid., 240. [28] Burgess, 145.

apostate Church is false baptism in the administration, and yet in itself and (its) own nature a spiritual ordinance, though abused: and whose spiritual uses cannot be had without repentance; by which repentance and the after-baptism of the Spirit it is sanctified and not to be repeated"[29]. He comes nearest to an appeal to common sense in the matter when he says it is "absurd" to exclude infants "from the Church or state of grace because they cannot themselves make profession of faith and repentance" (*Works,* Vol. III, 235)[30].

Even in the next year, 1610, Robinson was not yet an (absolute) "Independent", but a "Separatist" from the Church of England. In that same year he wrote his well-known work *A Justification of Separation, etc.,* which teaches no doctrine that the early Independents ever held. This distinction must be carefully kept in mind. The title of the book, transcribed from an original copy, runs as follows: *A/ Justification/ of Separation from the Church of/ England/ Against Mr. Richard Bernard his invective,/ Intitled;/ The Separatist Schisme./ By John Robinson/ And God saw that the light was good and/ God separated between the light, and between the/ darkness, Gen.* 1, 4./ *What communion hath light with darkness?/* 2 *Cor.* 6, 14/ *Anno D.* 1610/.

Appended are several excerpts bearing on Robinson's theses of Church government. "Yet as the case of religion is most weighty, so is the affection of zeale in it most dangerous, if it be eyther pretended onely, and not in truth, or preposterous and not according to knowledge"[31] . . . "for all things ordinarily whether in grace or nature, are wrought by degrees, and the passage from one extreme to another without due means, as it can hardly be found, so can it not possibly be unsuspected"[32]. Indeed, "If a man should set the Church of England before his eyes, as it differeth but from the reformed Churches, it would be no very beautiful bird. Yea what could it in that colour afforde, but Egyptian bondage; Babylonish confusions; carnal pomp; and a company of Jewish, Heathenish, and Popish ceremonies?"[33].

His new Church was a bird of a different colour! "The constitution of the Church is the orderly collection and coiunction of the saynts into and in the covenant of the New Testament: wherein the saynts are the matter, the covenant the form from which two concurring, the Church ariseth, and is by them constituted"[34]. Dividing between Catholicism and Protestantism, after quoting a string of texts from *Matthew* to 1 *Thess.,* he asserts: "Here [in Holland and in English Separatist congregations] is no such mingle mangle as M.B. [Mr. Bernard, his antagonist] would make of good

29 Ibid., 149. 30 Burgess, 150.
31 Op. cit., 3. 32 Ibid., 4. 33 Ibid., 9. 34 Ibid., 88.

and bad, but al good, and so avowed by the Holy Ghost, though without doubt many of these were masked and hollow-hearted hypocrites whose goodness was bût as the goodness of Ephraim and Judah, like the morning cloud and like the dew which falls in the morning and fades away (*Hosea* 6.4)"[35]. So, "If a company of fauthfull people [though without officers?] be the true Ch. and body of Christ, and Israel of God, then to that company apperteynes the covenants of promise, the oracles of God are committed unto them (Ro. 3.2 and 9.4) and to them are given his word, statutes and iudgements: so they may freely enjoy them amongst themselves in the order by Christ prescribed, without any forreyn Ministers for Mediators[36]".

He declares that: "The order of the Old Testament was the order of a nationall Church, but the order of the New Testament is the order of a particular (local) Church, wherein there needs no such subordination of Ministeries as in the other which was nationall, the ey of common sense sees this difference"[37].

On the other hand he is asked: "And is the Church of Rome a true visible Church?"[38] "But first if your meaning be that the Ministers of their office represent Christ in his office, it is little lesse than blasphemy; for Christ is the husband, and mediator of his Church by his office, and herein not to be represented by any other man, or angel"[39].

The true Church is explained thus: "If the officers alone be the Church in the censures, then it is not in this part a communion, as in other parts: for not the officers alone, but the brethren with them, are the Church, in prayer, preaching, administering the sacraments and the like"[40].

"If profession in word, with a wicked conversation, make true matter of the Church, there are apparently, a flat contradiction, a known sinne, and that which makes men more abominable, makes them true matter of the church"[41]. "And I suppose it needs no confirmation to any good conscience, that the choice of Church officers is a Church action, a mayn part of the administration of Christ's kingdom, and a privilege of that spirituall City the New Jerusalem"[42].

This was the kind of belief, in polity, which the Pilgrims brought with them to American shores.

In 1611 a building for the use of Robinson's congregation was purchased for eight thousand guilders as a meeting-house. Mather in his *Magnalia* tells the story of the next few years, so far as the pastor's principal activities were concerned. He says that "these famous (Dutch) divines, Polyander and Festus Hommius,

35 Ibid., 115. 36 Op. cit., 131. 37 Ibid., 174. 38 Ibid., 221.
39 Ibid., 222. 40 Ibid., 233. 41 Ibid., 270. 42 Ibid., 423.

employed this our learned Robinson to dispute publicly in the University of Leyden against Episcopius, and the other champions of that grand choke-weed of true Christianity" (Arminian doctrine). There may be some foundation for the holding of such a disputation; but it was probably not at Polyander's request, nor at the University where Episcopius was in power. Robinson was admitted to the University in 1615, and attended Episcopius's lectures[43]. And the following year the good man was saddened by the death of his mother, Ann. Her will of 1616 shows her as a devout Churchwoman at the time, though she remembers him with a bequest. "And my body I committ to the earth to be interred or buried in the parishe church of Sturton ăforesaid or elsewhere it shall please God to call me to his mercye"[44].

By this period, it needs to be noted, through the agency of the Congregational Puritans, especially one Henry Jacob, Robinson was won back from the ways of Separatism before 1616, certainly before 1618; while Jacob, instead of being influenced by Robinson towards Separatism—according to previous tradition—can be readily shown never to have been a Separatist from the Church of England[45]. In reference to this question, a certain John Paget in *An/ Arrow/ Against the Separation/ of the/ Brownists, Amsterdam, 1618/* said: "Of the Brownists also there are sundrie sects: . . . . Some renounce the Church of England as a false Ch., and yet allow private communion with the godly therein, as Mr. Robinson and his followers"[46]. And the subsequent history of Robinson's life clearly indicates that Henry Jacob and the other Puritans who more or less agreed with him converted and held Robinson to Independency[47].

For the purpose of defining this new position John Robinson in 1619 put forth *Apologia Brownistarum*. Yet a few years before, beginning about 1613-14, he wrote a number of tracts, which by 1619 were widely known, on *Religious Communion*, quotation from which will show his theological position at this time before he bade farewell to his followers on their voyage to the new lands of the West. Concerning sin and evil he writes: "This sin [of man] he [God] doth also suffer; not as men oft suffer things to come to pass, without care or consideration of it, but of purpose and with infinite wisdom, as knowing how to bring light out of darkness, and by the creature's sin, to effect his most holy work according to his unsearchable counsel; the depth whereof may swallow up the mind, but cannot be sounded by it, and in meditation whereof, the best bound and bottom is for man to consider and confess that God is both more wise and holy that he". (*Works*, III, 241)[48].

43 *Americana*, Art. on Robinson, Vol. XIII. 44 Burrage, *Dissenters*, 376.
45 Ibid., 34. 46 Ibid., 171. 47 Ibid., 291. 48 Burgess, 151.

Holding fast to the (semi) Calvinistic theology of the Anglican Articles, in which he had been exercised and instructed from his youth, in regard to the nature of the soul, Robinson considered the point, and came to the conclusion that God "had given virtue and power unto mankind to beget and generate bothe soul and body"[49]. He proceeds: "If these two positions cannot stand together that God createth the soul immediately and that there is original sin: where these men [his theological opponents] conclude that there is therefore no original sin, I conclude contrariwise, that, therefore, the soul is not immediately created" (*Works,* III, p. 248)[50].

It goes without saying, moreover, that Robinson defended the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election. He is not afraid to face some of the repellent consequences which flow from an extreme application of those principles. We find him jealous of any teaching that would derogate from the absolute sovereignty and majesty of God. But the New England theocracy is foreshadowed thus—"The magistrate may use his lawful power lawfully for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom and laws". Human is to sustain Divine majesty.

He took an active interest in the 1620 project of emigration to America; and had a majority of his church volunteered he would have accompanied them. A considerable minority of them sailed for England in the *Speedwell,* and ultimately crossed the Atlantic in the *Mayflower.* In fact, it was his intention to follow as soon as practicable with the rest of his flock, but he died before the plan could be carried out, on March 1, 1625. Previous to the sailing of the *Speedwell,* he preached on July 21, 1620, observed by the Pilgrims as a day of prayer and humiliation. His celebrated address is given in Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (1646), the author remarking that Robinson "used these expressions, or to the same purpose", so allowance must be made for such improvements and embellishments as Winslow may have made to suit his controversial purpose.

Robinson corresponded with the "church of God at Plymouth, New England". Bradford gives the pastor's letter of July 27, 1620—undoubtedly his first to them. " . . . And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sines known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficultie and danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; least he, calling to remembrance our sines forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us and in judgements leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas, on the contrary, sine being

[49] Burgess, 152. [50] Ibid., 153.

taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto a mans conscience by his spirite, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comfort in all distresses, with hapie deliverance from all evill, whether in life or in death''[51].

Meanwhile, in 1620 the English Anabaptists published a small octavo entitled, *A/ Description/ Of what God/ hath Predestined/ Concerning/ Man.* Of the contents, No. 7 is *And lastly an answ. to a little Printed writing of John Robinsons, touching Baptisme*[52]. A full rebuttal of these and other attacks was provided by him in 1624, when there appeared a scarce work entitled, *A/ Defence/ of the Doctrine Propoun/ ded by the Synode/ at Dort:/ Against John Nurton and/ his associates, in a/ Treatise intitled: A Description/ What God/ etc./ with/ the Refutation of/ their Answer to a writing touching/ Baptisme.* This is a quarto consisting of iv, 203 pages[53]. We have in his other volumes long and elaborate discussions of ecclesiastical polity, treating nearly all the topics in controversy between the Independents and the Church of England. There is this one considerable treatise upon doctrinal theology, the *Defence,* etc[54]. It serves primarily to show us the harmony of doctrinal view between the Separatists and the Puritan movement in general, and later exerted a positive influence in prolonging that harmony throughout New England. It is what it purports to be, strictly a 'defence', and in no respect goes beyond the common Calvinism of the day, or rises above its level. Although completely deficient in the philosophical element, this is less to be wondered at in an age when Descartes had not yet introduced the methods and called forth the spirit of modern philosophy. Therefore it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon this, the first in the long list of doctrinal treatises produced by the Congregational leaders.

With the following brief extracts, sufficient to exhibit its flavour and characteristics, it may be dismissed. The author's reticence concerning one of the great perplexities of theology is indicated in the following passage: "If any demand how this can be that God who forbiddeth and hateth sin, yet should so order persons and things by his providence, and so from eternity purpose to order them, as that the same cannot but be? I answer, by free acknowledgement, that the manner of God's working herein is to me, and to all men, inconceivable; and withall avouch that he who will not confess that God can, and could in Adam's sin, by his infinite wisdom and power, most effectually, and infallibly, in regard of such events, order and dispose of things, without violation

[51] Op cit., 84. [52] Burrage, *Dissenters,* 260. [53] Ibid., 268.
[54] Foster, 12.

to his holiness, or violence to the creature's will, as no mortal man is able to conceive the manner thereof, is himself in a high degree guilty of that pride which was Adam's ruin, by which he desired to be as God in knowledge. Gen., Chap. 3. Who is able to understand the manner of God's working, in giving the Holy Ghost to man, and in directing the tongues and pens of the prophets infallibly, and so as they could not err? Much less discernible is God's manner of working in, and about the creature's sinful actions. And because many take great offence at this doctrine of truth and work of God, I will, the Lord assisting me, plainly and briefly as I can, prove that all events, even those most sinful, in regard of the creature's work in, and of them come to pass[55] necessarily, after a sort, in respect of God's providence, as being a hand steady and which swerveth not, in ordering the creature in and unto the same". (*Works*, I, pp. 274, 275).

He thinks that the alleged inconsistency of God's commanding Adam not to sin, and yet decreeing that he should sin, is sufficiently removed by these distinctions: "For us, we do not hold, that God decreed Adam's sin, as they conceive, that is, either to approve it or command it or compel unto it, nothing less; but we affirm that God decreed to leave Adam to himself, in the temptation and not to assist him with that strength of grace, by which he could, if he would, have upheld him; and so to order both him and all things about him, in that his temptations, as that he, by the motion and sway of his own free will following his natural appetite to the pleasant but forbidden fruit and that false persuasion wherewith his understanding was by Satan overclouded, should both choose and eat the forbidden fruit". (Ibid., pp. 280, 281).

Yet—this gives significance to our study of Robinson as a reformer—there is an evident struggle in his mind to maintain a certain freedom of the will of man from compulsion (Ibid., pp. 274 et al.), and in general to hold to that more generous type of theology characteristic of English Puritanism in distinction from Continental. Thus he is distinctly 'sublapsarian' (*Works* I, 289). This is the same as 'infralapsarian', and simply means a Calvinist who held that God's election of some was consequent to His prescience or foreknowledge of the Fall, or that it contemplated man as already fallen. He holds firmly, nevertheless, to a limited atonement (*Works*, p. 329)[56]. But when all credit for the influence upon his system of clearer intuitions of truth or of the plain common sense, of which he had considerable share, has been given, the general accord of his whole treatment with that extreme application of the doctrine of divine sovereignty and of the helplessness of man which was to spread a deadly paralysis through all the

[55] Foster, 13. [56] Foster, 14.

spiritual life of New England, is apparent from such passages as this.

"They [Calvinists] believe, as the Scriptures teach, that all men in Adam have sinned, Rom. 5: 12-15; and by sin lost to the image of God in which they were made; so as the law is impossible, Rom. 8: 3: unto them by reason of the flesh, and so cannot possibly but sin, by reason of the same flesh, reigning in the unregenerate, and dwelling in all: which these light persons expressly confess . . . and that this so comes to pass by God's holy decree, and work of providence answerable, not forcing evil upon any, but ordering all persons in all actions, as the supreme governor of all: and that the wicked, being left of God, some destitute of the outward means, the Gospel; all of them of the effectual work of the Spirit, from that weak flesh, and natural corruption, daily increased in them, sin both necessarily as unable to keep the law, and willingly as having in themselves the beginning and cause thereof, the blindness of their own minds, and perverseness of their own will and affections; and so are inexcusable in God's sight". (Ibid., pp 398, ff.)[57].

From the appalling involutions of such sentences we are not yet delivered, for in 1625—the next year—was brought out his *Essays, or Observations Divine and Moral,* [Ed. 2 in 1658] (*Works,* I, 4)[58]. To quote one sentence which perhaps summarizes his mature thought and provides us with a more human attitude than his previous remarks on sin: "Love in the creature ever presupposeth some good, true or apparent, in the thing loved, by which that affection of union is drawn, as the iron by the loadstone; but the love of God, on the contrary, causeth all good, wrought or to be wrought, in the creature"[59].

Finally, Robinson wrote a *Treatise of the Lawfulness of hearing of the Ministers of the Church of England*—not published until almost a decade after his death, in 1634, which shows a larger catholicity of feeling than his earlier *Justification of Separation* in 1610. Yet these semi-Separatists still set store by the church-covenant, in which they bound themselves "to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as He had revealed, or should further make them known to them". But they realized that "the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word". And this gave them a comparatively open minded and tolerant spirit (for those days!), which continued to mark the church in Plymouth Colony, as distinct from the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay[60].

The separation from the Mother Church he never really

57 Foster, 15. 58 Bacon, *Genesis,* 246. 59 Ibid., 247.
60 Encyclopædia Brit., 248.

reconciled with his conscience. Edward Winslow records: "And so he [Robinson] advised us [Pilgrims] to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz: how near we might possibly without sin close with them, rather than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them"[61].

Not long before his death John Robinson wrote the following words stating the position which he himself took in later life in relation to the Church of England, and which he would advise his followers also to adopt toward it—a fitting valedictory as we close our study of his doctrines: "To conclude", he says, "for myself, thus I believe with my heart before God, and professe with my tongue, and have before the world, that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptisme, and Lord which I had in the Church of England, and none other"[62]. This speaks not well of the Catholic theology of England, but does proclaim the continuing hold, in theory at least, which the gracious Mother has ever exercised even over her separated children.

61 *Bacon, History of American Christianity,* 93.
62 Burrage, *Dissenters,* 293.

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REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

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THEOLOGY
AND RELEVANT STUDIES

Humanity and Deity. By W. M. URBAN. 479 pp. Allen & Unwin. 25s.

Professor Urban says that there are at present two prevailing attitudes to religion. One takes the view that religion is purely human in character, and so is merely emotional and without solid content. The other regards it as absolutely supernatural, all attempts to humanize or rationalize it being vain. The first view is that of modern logical positivism, the second that of Barth and his followers. According to Urban both views are wrong, being entirely one-sided. Religion is essentially a meeting of humanity and Deity. It combines the natural and the supernatural in a peculiar way of its own. This is the older view of it, to which we must return. It has held the field for centuries, and is still true.

Because the object of religion is God, Who is transcendent, its language is that of symbolism, and it begins with myth. But because its subject is man, who is rational, myth is followed by theology, which rationalizes it, but not completely: the religious awe originally embodied in the myth is still preserved. The perennial basis of such theology is the idea of God as the unity of Being and Perfection. This conception begins with Plato, is continued in Aristotle, and reaches characteristic forms in the ontological argument of Anselm and the Thomist proofs for the Divine existence. Finally, it undergoes a reinterpretation from the standpoint of human consciousness at the hands of Kant, and so becomes axiological: in other words Being is based on Value, not Value on Being. The Neo-Thomists are wrong when they continue to assert the priority of Being over Value. Still their error is less than that of the Barthians, who make theology purely supernatural. There can be no revelation to one who does not already admit the existence of God. Supernatural theology demands rational theology as its foundation. Here Aquinas and the Church of Rome are right.

The argument is brought up to date by a discussion of science, the humanities and mysticism. Science is abstract and never possesses the whole truth. The humanities depend on the Values, but the Values require to be anchored in God as the Value that is Being. Here incidentally Urban dismisses the view of the logical positivists that only that has being which makes itself evident through the senses. The mystic in fact possesses a non-sensuous intuition of God. But Urban insists that even he never escapes from the necessity of symbolism: he can only communicate his experience to others by means of the symbols which he shares with rational theology. The mystical experience after all is only the explicit form of the knowledge of God implicit in all religion.

The great merit of *Humanity and Deity* is that it is amazingly thorough and entirely up to date. It is in fact the kind of book Aquinas might have written, had he lived in our century. It is eminently readable and yet completely logical. It is a very notable piece of work.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

The Cosmic Christ. By A. D. GALLOWAY. 274 pp. Nisbet. 16s.

We can hardly claim to be holding the Faith in its fulness unless we believe that Christ redeems *the world,* and not merely individuals in it, but it is idle to pretend that the New Testament world-view is, or can be, ours. What are we to make of the Cosmic Christ? How, for example, are we to translate the Apostle Paul's triumphant philosophy of history in *Romans* 8 into the language of a scientific world-view? What have the principalities and powers to do with the impersonal entities and equations of the physicist? Can we really preach a cosmic redemption today? Can we make any sense of the New Testament eschatology?

These are serious questions, and on the answers we give to them depends to a much greater extent than we realize the fate of our preaching of the Gospel in the modern world. And it is with these questions that Dr. Galloway sets himself to deal in this remarkable book. He shows how faith is always confronted with a choice between an abandonment of the world as incurably evil, with its accompanying dualistic "other-worldliness", and an extension of the claim of redemption to cover all creation. He traces the consequence of the failure of the Church to re-interpret the symbolism of Jewish apocalyptic in the rise of various Gnostic theories of redemption, which on the whole tend towards the dualistic solution, and finds that neither the Alexandrian theologians nor the Fathers of the West, typified by Irenaeus, were able to reach a satisfactory re-interpretation. As for mediaeval theology, here we have once more a dualism—veiled this time in the distinction between Nature and Supernature—which pushed the problem of cosmic redemption into the background. But with the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation the problem takes shape again, and in our age, dominated by the world-view of the physical sciences, it has become acute and the need for a satisfying presentation of the doctrine of cosmic redemption correspondingly urgent. It would seem a far cry from the principalities and powers to German idealistic philosophy but Dr. Galloway traces an analogy between Kant and Gnosticism, and shows how Hegel points the way to a theory of cosmic redemption through the work of Christ. These chapters, as Dr. Galloway warns us, are not easy going, yet even the unphilosophical reader will be able to follow the argument and will be grateful for the clear, straightforward language in which it is couched.

The summaries and recapitulations which the author provides help to make the book easier to read. Altogether Dr. Galloway has made a very significant contribution to that re-statement of the doctrine of salvation in terms of contemporary thought-forms which is a *sine qua non* of successful evangelism.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

The Hebrew Scrolls from the neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea. By G. R. DRIVER (Friends of Dr. Williams's Library, Fourth Lecture, 1950). 51 pp., 3 plates. O.U.P., 1951. 3s. 6d.

The flood of comment occasioned by the discovery in 1947 of a collection of ancient Hebrew Scrolls in a cave near Jericho shows no sign of abating. This lecture by Professor Driver supplies a brief survey, which will be useful to any who are anxious to know their real value. Not that any finality may be claimed for the findings which Professor Driver here puts forward; at several points the matter is left open for further discussion.

Professor Driver paints a clear picture of the discovery and purchase of the Scrolls. He describes briefly their contents, commenting on special features which are of importance in their interpretation. His examination of the archaeological evidence from the cave and the jars is careful and critical. The evidence from the form of script used and the materials employed is shown to be insufficient for dating in view of the limited material available for comparison. A discussion of orthographic peculiarities he finds more significant, and claims that it points to a later date than that first proposed. His general conclusion is that the Scrolls cannot be earlier than 200-500 A.D., nor later than about 800 A.D., and that the deposit was probably made at some time of persecution, local or more general.

The too-ready ascription of a very early date to the Scrolls, which seems to have been based on hope rather than on proof, receives here a balanced criticism. The value of the Scrolls remains very great for our study of the Old Testament, and there is much yet that they will undoubtedly contribute. A calmer atmosphere will make it possible in time to assess this contribution fully. PETER R. ACKROYD.

Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of The Poem of Job. By W. B. STEVENSON. 170 pp. Aberdeen University Press. 16s.

This is a book for the specialist. It is to be read in conjunction with the author's Schweich Lectures *The Poem of Job* given in 1943 and published in 1947. The volume serves two purposes. First, it supplies justification, through its critical apparatus, for the translation and the emendations given in the earlier volume. Secondly, it provides an analysis of the several speeches in *Job,* in the form of a preface to each speech. The work is a notable example of exact and sensitive scholarship. JAMES WOOD.

Primitive Gospel Sources. By B. P. W. STATHER HUNT. 344 pp. James Clarke. 18s.

There have come down to us from the early Christian centuries certain writings, of which Cyprian's *Testimonies* are the best known, which contain collections of proof texts from the Old Testament chosen to demonstrate the fulfilment of prophecy in Christ. They contain still earlier material from the time when similar compilations were used for propaganda in the face of Jewish opposition. The "primitive Gospel sources" are these early compilations of testimonies. Assuming, then, the correctness of the late Dr. Rendel Harris's thesis, Canon Hunt goes a step further, and examines the influence of these early testimony compilations upon the *composition* of the Gospels.

The argument is that the testimony books were not composed to demonstrate the truth of the Gospels, but rather that "the Gospels were written to demonstrate how exactly the life of our Lord fitted into the framework of O. T. prophecy as recorded in the Testimony Book". The theory here presented resembles *Formgeschichte* in that it deals with the stage before the production of our Gospels. They are alike also in the principle that the Gospel stories originally circulated separately. It is refreshing to hear a British scholar, despite his trenchant attack on its more extreme protagonists, putting in a good word for the considerable contribution *Formgeschichte* has made to New Testament studies. But he rightly says that the fundamental weakness of the Form Critics is their failure to find a really convincing reason for the preservation of some stories, and the rejection of others, and to discover the thread which holds together those which have been preserved. The author claims that his theory supplies this lack. The stories were preserved to illustrate the dominant primitive Christian belief that Jesus was the Messiah of prophecy.

How does this theory affect the Gospel sources M, L, and Q? The answer is that the first two are not affected, because they are "immediate" sources, to which the "primitive Gospel sources" are anterior. Only Q comes into the picture, in the new guise of a testimony source utilized by all three Synoptists, for Papias' famous statement means that Matthew edited an Aramaic testimony book. The implications of this would seem to be the most suspect part of the whole book. For Canon Hunt sees that in the interests of his theory of a common testimony source behind *Mark* as well as *Matthew* and *Luke,* it is necessary to revive, though in a different form, Streeter's earlier view that *Mark* used Q. The result is that certain sections of *Matthew,* which are usually with the highest probability taken to be Matthaean insertions into a Markan framework (e.g., *Matthew* 3^{14-15} and 16^{17-19}), are regarded as "Markan omissions" from the common testimony source. This is unconvincing and most improbable.

Although it is fair to state that Canon Hunt is well aware of possible exaggerations in his work, one cannot avoid the impression that he tries to see testimonies everywhere. The catechetical material shown by Dr. Carrington and Dr. Selwyn to underlie the Epistles is given a predominantly testimony form. "The Testimony Book itself was, in effect, a first catechism for the Hebrew Christian, for it contained the answers to all the questions which were likely to be put to him by the orthodox Jew".

I should be the last to deny that the New Testament is saturated with the influence of the Old. But we must not go too far. Surely even the first Christians, Jews though they were, preserved some of the Gospel stories simply because they happened, and not necessarily because a prophecy was fulfilled by them. It is of such "subsidiary motives" that this book takes insufficient account.

Nevertheless, there is much of great value here, and the author is to be congratulated on an important contribution to New Testament studies.

A. J. B. Higgins.

Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950. By A. M. Hunter. 144 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

This book should be in the hands of everyone who wishes to be acquainted with the most important work on the New Testament produced during this past half-century. There are chapters on the advance of textual studies, Aramaic origins, Synoptic studies and the Fourth Gospel, twentieth-century lives of Christ, Pauline studies, and the theology of the New Testament. A perusal of these pages shows that while textual and critical questions still occupy the attention of experts, whose labours will always continue to be indispensable, the goal of all technical studies is more clearly kept in view—the understanding of the New Testament as a theological unity. Once again we are grateful to Professor Hunter, who writes with his characteristic clarity and charm. A. J. B. Higgins.

Professor L. E. Browne's *From Babylon to Bethlehem,* first published in 1926 and out of print for several years, appears in a second revised and enlarged edition (Cambridge: Heffer, 6s.) prepared with the assistance of Dr. M. Black. In a small volume of little more than a hundred pages one cannot expect much detail; but this is a very clear account of the fortunes of the Jews from the Exile down to the fulfilment of the Messianic hope in the birth of Jesus. As a preparation for more advanced study this volume is admirable, both for its judicious selection of quotations from Jewish non-canonical writings which are not always easily accessible, and for the new light shed upon some aspects of the Messianic hope. There is a useful chronological table. A. J. B. Higgins.

Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther. By R. H. Bainton. 422 pp. Hodder & Stoughton. 20s.

This is a work of a very unusual kind. At first sight it looks like a popular life of Luther, with illustrations and anecdotes to adorn the tale. On critical examination, however, we find that all the essential facts are there, that they have been marshalled by one who is master of the period, and that the general perspective and balance are sound. It is Church History made readable, nor will the casual reader be given superficial or wrong impressions. The body of the work reads like a novel. The style is easy, maybe at times a little too coloquial. Are "racket" (p. 84), "brilliant chap" and "row" (p. 85), and "Dr. Pussyfoot" (p. 277) permissible paraphrases of the original Latin and German? After looking at the original, one concludes with regret that they are. Before we allow our own ideas of dignified scholarship to condemn this kind of thing, first let us try to name any life of Luther which gives such an all-round picture: here are the contemporary scene, the theological tensions, vignettes of manners and customs, glimpses of the home—in fact, everything is brought to life; and if you want precision, there is a detailed choronological table, and authorities and references are set out fully at the end. The general reader will gain very much from reading this book, more indeed than he will realize, because the reading is so easy. As to the student, it will bring warm life to his studies, and he will feel that he knows Luther, Melanchthon, Eck, Frederick and the rest of them in a way that he never did before. We might have wished for an attempt to be made to straighten out the tangled chronology of his student days, and that more space might have been given to the Theses and less to Katie, even apart from the fact that the name Katie, so often repeated, seems a little over familiar. But the book is all of a piece and if we want exhilaration we must put up with the breeziness that goes with it.

There are about 100 illustrations, reproduced from various mediaeval sources; these add considerably to the interest and value of the book. The print is large and the format is good. It may be added that the author bears a name greatly honoured in New England Congregationalism, that he is Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale, and that when he wants to quote Latin or German sources he goes to the originals, even if his translation is into colloquial American rather than B.B.C. English! In fine, however, if you have twenty shillings to spend on Luther, you certanly can't do better than buy this book.

A. R. Vine.

Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge. By G. F. Nuttall. 32 pp. O.U.P. 3s. 6d.

This is the fifth Dr. Williams Lecture, and admirably fulfils what we are already learning to expect from these lectures: informed insight into some problem of criticism or history, with value out of proportion to the necessarily limited scope of a lecture theme. Dr. Nuttall is a laborious scholar, with a precise mind and an eye for detail. In these thirty-two pages we benefit from the insight and judgment that can only belong to one who knows his subject and period meticulously. He shows us these great seventeenth century figures in relation to one another and their times, and shows their precise relation to Calvinism, Arminianism, Establishment and Catholicity. Experts will thank Dr. Nuttall for an illuminating study; those not so expert will gain a useful insight into a period of great importance. References and quotations are given with expected accuracy, though there is an "of" in the middle of page 29 which should surely be "in".

A. R. Vine.

Hobbes and his Critics: A Study in Seventeenth Century Constitutionalism. By JOHN BOWLE. 215 pp. Cape. 10s. 6d.

The Religious Foundation of Leveller Democracy. By D. B. ROBERTSON. 175 pp. Columbia University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberledge). 18s.

Mr. Bowle's book, which is based on lectures given at Oxford, presents the arguments of nine contemporary critics of Hobbes' *Leviathan,* namely Filmer, Alexander Rosse, Seth Ward, William Lucy, George Lawson, Bramhall, Eachard. Clarendon and John Whitehall, and of one slightly earlier writer, Philip Hunton. "The most academically competent political theorists" among them are, in Mr. Bowle's opinion, Hunton and Lawson, who effectively influenced Locke and contributed to "the Whig outlook which was to swamp the immediate influence of Hobbes and dominate the eighteenth century". We may be permitted to note that they are the two Puritans in the group, Hunton being the minister, later ejected, whom Cromwell nominated for his abortive College at Durham. Mr. Bowle's unfolding and summing up of the various arguments advanced is clear and attractive, but is somewhat mutilated by his limiting himself strictly to political philosophy, to the exclusion of theology. In an age when "religion was still the driving force of political passion", this makes for unreality.

Dr. Robertson's Ph.D. thesis at Columbia, on the contrary, draws much of its value from the soundness of its purpose, which is "to point out how the Levellers, especially Lilburne, maintained the witness of faith against the world, even while they discounted the Church and ecclesiastical authority". His writing too much suggests compilation and occasionally reveals undigested borrowing, as when he says that "the religious literature of the period is full of the expression 'experiential' ", this being a word not then coined; but he has done useful work. He shows Lilburne's piety and background to have been fully within the normal radical Puritan tradition; and he traces the steps by which, through the layman Christopher St. Germain and the Parliamentarian Henry Parker, the old ecclesiastical treatment of Natural Law is transformed into a sanction for Levellerism.

From the minds of Levellers like Lilburne and Walwyn "Adam's fall seemed always to be slipping", so that "man is able to live rationally, equal and free in society". Just so do Hobbes' critics insist that men are born with "abilities to do one another good" (Lucy) and that mankind is "tolerably tame" (Eachard). Mr. Bowle finds deeper insight here in Hobbes' gloom than in his critics' mild optimism, which is certainly worlds away from Lilburne's passionate Christian perfectibilitarianism.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Mr. H. W. Brace is to be congratulated on having reached the third and final volume (1709-1719) of *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, 1669-1719,* which he has transcribed and edited as vol. 44 of the Lincoln Record Society's Publications. The appearance in print of material of this kind should prevent the attribution to Friends, still sometimes heard, of vagueness in discipline as well as in doctrine. In the years here covered much attention is still given to sufferings, in the form of presentments by churchwardens, fines, seizures and imprisonments, but more to marriages, the care of children, relief, removals and disciplinary proceedings of various sorts. The earlier volumes were briefly noticed in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society, and the index of persons is now supplied, as there requested, with identifications. The publishers are the Hereford Times, at a price not stated.

Mrs. Janet Whitney's *Elizabeth Fry: Quaker Heroine* (Harrap, 8s. 6d.) was favourably noticed in these pages by Dr. Peel on its first appearance in 1937, and its fifth printing is welcome, for it has won its place among the most sympathetic and attractive of recent religious biographies. Elizabeth Fry's story is an inspiring one, and in Mrs. Whitney's hands she never becomes inhuman.

Marion Fox, Quaker: a Selection of her Letters (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.), edited by Mr. Hubert Fox, is useful as yet another documentation of that remarkable social phenomenon, the Quaker cousinry at the turn of the century, when taste and cultivation, at last allowed to touch it, brought it to brief flowering, just before it perished from the effects of the cessation of disownment for marrying out. In themselves the letters, printed by Miss Fox's nephew with a minimum of editing, are not remarkable. Their writer was a conventional maiden lady who, while doing relief work in Germany after the 1914-18 war, could be "really indignant—I am not accustomed to being spoken to roughly". Some of the earlier letters contain passages of insight. GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Saint Tikhon Zadonsky, Inspirer of Dostoevsky. By NADEJDA GORODETZKY. 249 pp. S.P.C.K. 21s.

Dr. Gorodetzky's book bears less on Dostoevsky than the sub-title suggests. It illustrates the encroachment of a westernizing Tsardom on the Russian Church, and the intellectual poverty of Eighteenth Century Russian monasticism. An Oxford doctorate thesis, it is well documented; its sources, almost entirely in Russian, would otherwise be unavailable to the Western reader. Its value lies above all in the portrait of Tikhon himself, "a real educationalist and evangelist", who was Bishop of Voronezh under Catherine the Great until, finding too burdensome the pastoral care of the worldly Don Cossacks, he retired to Zadonsk Monastery. As Bishop, he was "hot-tempered, exacting and unbending" in his zeal for the purity of the Orthodox faith, "a religious reformer grounded in the Scriptures"; we of the Nonconformist Conscience must approve his attacks on luxury, oppression and immorality. In retirement he mellowed, and was seen as a humble, patient benefactor of the poor, living "a life wholly reformed according to the Word of God". Dostoevsky, the sceptic, approved of him, alone amongst Churchmen, as "a positive holy figure". This book will aid the Ecumenical Movement by presenting Russian Orthodoxy at its most attractive in Tikhon's spiritual life, Christ-centred, based on the Bible, and abounding in practical expression. J. E. NEWPORT.

The Church: Report of a Theological Commission on Faith and Order. 78 pp. S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d.

This is a short, cheap but important book. Its author may be deemed to be Dr. Newton Flew, chairman of this theological Commission of the World Council of Churches. The Commission was appointed as long ago as 1938; its subject is that which falls for discussion at the World Conference in Lund this year. Those who cannot read the much longer volume that is promised can surely read this, and much they will learn from it. Here is no toning down of fundamental differences, no hesitation about our fundamental agreements. But we are reminded that if some of our differences have deep theological roots, others rest upon prejudice, misunderstanding and social or psychological varieties. How many of our denominations are willing to admit that here or there they have been wrong? How far does each idealize itself? Since our denominations came into being, the whole theological scene has shifted through the application of historical and literary methods to the interpretation of the Bible; in

this Biblical work we all join; how far, in the light of this new attitude to Scripture, do our old disagreements tend to vanish? It is to such questions as these that we are summonded by these pages. What an admirable basis they afford for interdenominational discussions at what I suppose we must now call the Fraternal level! Two valuable appendices are added, one by Professor Leonard Hodgson of Oxford and one by Professor Stanley Hopper of Drew University. Both deal with the relation of Christian doctrine to the changing forms of philosophy. The accepted view that the Christian faith must express itself in terms of some non-Christian philosophical system is most powerfully challenged in Dr. Ferré's new book which is shortly to appear in Britain, but these discussions are to be highly valued. N. MICKLEM.

The Ecumenical Movement. By LEONARD HODGSON. 50 pp. University of the South Press, Sewanee, Tennessee. 50 cents.

The Approach to Christian Unity. 69 pp. Heffer. 4s.

Professor Leonard Hodgson of Oxford was for many years General Secretary of the Faith and Order Movement, and is now Theological Secretary of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. *The Ecumenical Movement* consists of three lectures, given in America, tracing the developments of the inner councils of the Ecumenical Movement from 1910 to 1937, 1937 to 1948, 1948 to 1950. They combine lucidity and grace, constitutional technicality and concrete examples, official information and personal experience. They persuasively commend the Ecumenical Movement, and the booklet might well be reproduced in this country. Perhaps the most striking fact is the growth of charity in questions of orthodoxy.

The Approach to Christian Unity contains sermons preached at the University of Cambridge in the Easter Term of 1951, by Professor Norman Sykes, Dr. Micklem, Dr. Ernest Payne, the Dean of Pembroke College, Professor Whitehorn, Dr. Newton Flew, the President of the Orthodox Theological Seminary, the Bishop of Chichester, and the Bishop of Brechin. This excellent series of sermons brings out both the deep desire for closer unity and the difficulties in the way of reaching it. For Free Churchmen the sermon by the Rev. M. B. Dewey, Dean of Pembroke College, provokes most thought. He combines wide charity with an inflexible Anglo-Catholic position: "What is of faith", he says, "is that to the world as a whole the presence of the Eternal Spirit is assured through the divinely ordained priesthood". H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Ways of Worship. Ed. P. EDWALL, E. JAYMAN and W. D. MAXWELL. 362 pp. S.C.M. 21s.

The subtitle of this book is "the Report of a theological commission of Faith and Order". The World Council of Churches seems to rest upon the dictum of St. Paul that we shall only be able to comprehend 'with all saints' (which seems in these days to imply 'with all denominations') what is the length and breadth and depth and height and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. It becomes necessary for us, therefore, however difficult, to learn from one another. This is in many ways a new perception; it no longer should seem sufficient for us to work out with logical consistency what is implied in our own partial vision, whether personal or denominational. Moreover, creed is, in general, born from worship; if therefore we are prepared sympathetically to consider one another's worship, there is hope that we shall come to understand one another's theological differences. At this enlargement of mind and heart this book is directly aimed. It begins with a short report from the commission, but

most of its pages are given to contributions from representatives of various denominations in exposition of their faith and their peculiarities. I naturally looked eagerly to see who had written for us. It is Professor Marsh of Nottingham, and who could have done it better? We are worthily represented. I note, by the way, that Dr. Marsh gives the impression that in our use it is customary to offer the long prayer of intercession after the sermon. That is an excellent and historic order, but I should have thought it in fact relatively uncommon. The Church of England is represented by several writers. Mr. Lampe on the inner meaning of Word and Sacrament seems to me entirely admirable; I should be hard put to it here to find anything with which to disagree; "the New Testament doctrine of justification by faith is the ground of our worship", he writes. Mr. Couratin, an Anglican of a very different school, would not put it like that, but his article on the same theme written from the Anglo-Catholic point of view is noteworthy; not only does he not attempt to prove that the Church of England has always held the views he now espouses, but, when he sets forth his own view of the sacrament of the Holy Supper, I as a Congregationalist feel that we are within speaking distance and are not shouting to one another across a chasm. But here all the churches speak, Roman and Orthodox, Lutheran, Methodist, Quaker and Reformed. It is very greatly to be desired that our denominations at large, and not merely our leaders who can travel to Geneva, should enter into this now ceaseless conversation between the churches and try to understand each other.

N. Micklem.

Professor G. D. Henderson's Baird Lectures for 1950, *Church and Ministry* (Hodder & Stoughton, 10s 6d.), rightly claim to treat "one of the most vital and practical and urgent of ecclesiastical problems". The problem is discussed with particular reference to Scottish Presbyterianism, but in spite of the local and sectarian nature of the discussion the book will be read with deep interest and great profit by all and not least by Congregationalists. Here are discussed in turn the classical notes of the Church, the Word which creates it, its nature as multitudinous or gathered, the Unity, Catholicity and Apostolicity which distinguish it, and the Parity of the ministry which serves it. Particular attention is paid to the misrepresentations of *Catholicity* (the Archbishop's report of 1947) and of *The Apostolic Ministry* (ed. K. E. Kirk, 1946).

As a member of the Church of Scotland, Professor Henderson occupies a central position between Catholicism (Roman and Anglican) and Independency (Baptist and Congregational). It will be good exercise for Independents to face his challenge in "Multitudinous or Gathered?", asking how many of our churches are "gathered" in the classic sense. We do well likewise to ponder what of lasting value is meant by Apostolicity, seeking some coherent view of the meaning of ordination out of the hotchpotch of opinion which floats so dangerously free among us. At the same time let us face the truth here made plain that if we took Episcopacy into our systems it could never be traditional Episcopacy unless we accepted sacramental views which are not even mentioned among us. This sound book, full of learning, is lighted up by felicitous quotations, some striking illustrations and an occasional heart-warming pungency of expression.

John Wilding.

Crist a'r Meddwl Modern. By W. T. Gruffydd. 114 pp. Welsh Independent Bookroom. 8s. 6d.

This stimulating book on "Christ and the Modern Mind" is a representative product of the thought of the more alert and forward-looking

type of Welsh preacher in the present century. It is a preacher's book, and the style is hortatory and exclamatory, perhaps none the worse for that. The author as a thinker manages to combine swiftness and energy with fairness. He is unduly hasty in matters that are not central to his theme (as in his statement that Galileo was the first to use the scientific method), and his proof-correctors have serious sins of omission to their discredit (so that the *Origin of Species* is dated 1895, for example); but he has done his own thinking in company with the more important theologians of the century and has attempted to synthesise modern thought and Christian truth in a way that deserves the thanks of Welsh readers.

In a chapter on "Investigation and Discovery" Gruffydd challenges the traditional distinction between "natural" and "revealed" theology, reapplying the Augustinian view that all apprehended truth is revealed by God. Accepting Kraemer's dictum that Christ is the crisis of all religions he rejects the Barthian insistence that there is no real common ground between the Christian faith and the world's cults and philosophies. We are left wondering why the author at the beginning of his book has been anxious to preserve the distinction between the "natural" and the "supernatural". Nevertheless, the whole section is crisply done.

The chapter on the belief in an "unbroken chain" of causation and its relation to modern science and to providence and prayer and the subsequent chapter on the miracles are lucid and suggestive, and if they leave problems unsolved they do at any rate present the issues clearly. The author's "Christian Humanism" becomes more and more outspoken as he handles Evolution and Incarnation and Original Sin, though he trounces non-Christian humanism more lustily than he combats what he dislikes in the Neo-Protestantism of Barth and Brunner. Except on the questions of Original Sin and Election he finds himself time after time quoting Augustine with admiring approval. PENNAR DAVIES.

Submission in Suffering and other Essays on Eastern Thought. By H. H. ROWLEY. 170 pp. University of Wales Press. 12s. 6d.

Professor Rowley's contributions to the study of the Old Testament are so widely known and so greatly valued that it may come as a surprise to many to discover that he is also an authority on eastern and especially on Chinese religion; but Professor Rowley began his ministry in China and on his return to this country lectured for some years on the History of Religion at the University College of Bangor. Of the three essays reissued in this volume the first, and longest of them, *Submission in Suffering*, was reviewed in the *Congregational Quarterly* in 1943. It is not only a learned but a sympathetic and discriminating study of the answers to the problem of suffering given in various phases of Chinese religion, in Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity.

The second essay deals with *The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule*. Some have written as if the superiority of Christian to non-Christian ethics lies in this: whereas other teachers bid us not to do to others what we would not have them do to us, Christ gave the Golden Rule in its positive and not merely its negative form. Dr. Rowley recognizes that "this distinction between the two forms of the maxim is not very secure, and with the loss of this distinction it is sometimes supposed that the originality of Jesus in this connection disappears". "It is tacitly assumed that the equation of the terms of the precepts involves the equation of their content. Were this really so, then we should be forced to the conclusion that this saying of Jesus, so often regarded as the climax of His ethical teaching, is a mere commonplace of the world's moralists". Dr. Rowley points out the futility of discussing "the sayings as isolated maxims unrelated to the

rest of the teaching of those who uttered them". "It is essential to ask what was the motive power to which the teacher looked for the realization of his teaching".

It is often said that whereas Confucius taught the Golden Rule only in its negative form, Lao-tze, the traditional founder of Taoism, gave it in its positive form. Dr. Rowley shows the superiority of Confucius' teaching to Lao-tze's, and yet, close as is the approximation of Confucious' ethical teaching to that of the Golden Rule, his conception of the Divine makes his Golden Rule "quite other than the Golden Rule of Jesus".

The third section of the book deals with *The Chinese Philosopher Mo Ti* who, till recently, has been little known in the West. Dr. Rowley's illuminating essay on this long neglected philosopher leads to the conclusion that among those who have witnessed to God by divers portions and in divers manners few "attained the heights of self-sacrifice and unselfishness that Mo-tze attained, and none was more earnest in his desire for a world in which the will of God should be perfectly done". SYDNEY CAVE.

Neurosis and Human Growth. By KAREN HORNEY. 391 pp. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 21s.

The sub-title "The Struggle Towards Self-Realization" is significant of the direction in which the author's theory of neurosis is developing. It reminds us of the title of Erich Fromm's second book, *Man for Himself*. It was Fromm's influence that directed Horney from the biological Freudian theory to a sociological approach to neurosis. This was a highly important development, and crystallized in her statement that "neuroses are due to disturbances in human relationships". This was in fact the change of emphasis of which psycho-analysis stood in need, installing object-relations between persons in the central place hitherto occupied by instincts. Fairbairn states that the priority of "the object-relationship was not appreciated in the early days of psycho-analysis".

The present book confirms our impression that this highly important beginning has not been as constructively followed up in Horney's later work as she herself believes. Her views are developing into a theory of self-realization ("Man for Himself") and not into a radical psychodynamic theory of human relationships such as would show that these are actually constitutive of the inner structure of individual personality. Having discarded (rightly) instinct theory Horney has no real alternative method of explaining the unconscious in a structural sense. She has not followed up "human relations" into the unconscious itself as Fairbairn has done, and so has not grasped his revolutionary insight that what we seek to get rid of by repression are not our own bad impulses, but bad-objects, *persons* who upset and frustrate us in early life.

We now see the result towards which all this tends. The centre of her theoretical interest moves over to "the self-realization of the individual", as if that could be achieved by solving the conflict between the real and idealized selves. Self-realization, like pleasure, is an unconscious by-product of good personal relationships, and it is disappointing to see this shift away (in line with Fromm's humanism) from object-relations, the true centre of psycho-dynamic theory. Self-realization is not our basic drive. It is a goal which reflection discovers to be involved in our primary drive, which comes from our need for personal relationships. H. J. S. GUNTRIP.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

Our Lord: An Outline Life of Christ. By GERARD LAKE. 123 pp. Burns Oates. 8s. 6d.

Father Lake, a Jesuite, wrote this book in order to provide for young people a straightforward account of the life of Jesus Christ. He is to be commended both as to intention and execution. His narrative is very readable, weaves the Gospel history into one coherent story, and provides useful items of information as to contemporary history, geography and customs. Roman Catholic young people are fortunate to have such a book prepared for them. But can we commend it for Protestant young people? Having read it with a keen nose for Mariolatry and other Romanizing tendencies, I confess that there is little fault to find. The Mother of Our Lord is referred to with more regard than is perhaps customary in Protestant circles, though often enough it is just "Mary". But she is not given any more place than is fully justified by the Gospels, except for the ascription to her of perpetual virginity and perhaps an overestimate of her part at Cana. Nor can we say much to his exegesis of *Matt.* $16^{17\text{-}19}$ without entering into complicated textual problems. Though we may not agree with his identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary the sister of Martha, this is not a vital point. The style is a little florid, e.g., "The purse-proud Pharisees who merely sneered at such teaching were in peril of a fate similar to that of Dives". But that is a minor defect of which we soon become unconscious. The book is broken up into headed sections, which aids grasp of sequence and helps to speedy reference. A. R. VINE.

The Life of the Virgin Mary. By RAINER MARIA RILKE. German text with an English translation and Introduction by Stephen Spender. 49 pp. Vision Press. 8s. 6d.

Eight and sixpence seems much to pay for a book of just under 50 pages, but poetry is beyond price, and it is worth a lot to find in an English book a Greek quotation with all the accents right. Besides, this little volume is printed in such clear type on such excellent paper that I deem it worth its price. The poems here printed and translated constitute a series of cartoons; they suggest pictures and might seem to be describing paintings. Mr. Spender in his introduction compares Rilke with Browning, but he has, inevitably, translated him into somewhat chastened Spender. Thus, typically, the opening lines of the poem 'Before the Passion',

> O hast du dies gewollt, du hättest nicht
> durch eines Weibes Leib entspringen dürfen,

become

> Oh, if you had willed this, you never should
> have sprung out of the body of a woman.

Any reader of the German lines (but not of the English) would know at once that he was in the presence of poetry. The translation seems in places slightly more obscure than the original, but it has been conscientiously and skilfully composed, and we may welcome this sympathetic presentation of the German poet. N. MICKLEM.

Saul Who Also Is Called Paul. By S. L. PEWTRESS. 245 pp. E. Marlborough & Co. 7s. 6d.

This book first appeared in 1923. That fact may account for the publishers' ability to issue this second impression at what is today the very

reasonable price of 7s. 6d. The book is intended for senior scholars and laymen who desire to gain a vivid impression of the life and work of St. Paul. It certainly fulfils that intention excellently. It does not pretend to be a work of scholarship, and there is a good deal of imaginative amplification of the bare historical facts; but no one will have difficulty in realizing where fact ends and romance begins, and the general effect is certainly to bring to life the career of the Great Apostle. The author is conservative, but indicates where criticism has raised doubts, e.g., as to the authorship of certain of the Epistles. There are useful tables dealing with the missionary journeys and with the chronology of Paul's life. Not all opinons in the book need be accepted; but it serves a useful purpose, and presents a great deal of information in an easily readable form. A. R. VINE.

Congregationalism. A Statement made to the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. Independent Press. 9d.

The importance of this little booklet is considerable. It contains a statement prepared by a representative Committee at the request of the Congregational Union of England and Wales for presentation to the World Council of Churches. This statement consists of an account of Congregational principles in their historical setting, followed by a series of "affirmations" in which these principles are clearly set out. Appended to the document is the statement that was unanimously adopted at the International Congregational Council in 1949 in which is exhibited the significance of Congregationalism both for the Universal Church and for the political and economic life of the world.

In our Congregational worship the Creeds do not have the place given to them in the liturgies of other Communions, and this fact, taken together with our well-known emphasis upon liberty of thought, has led to very serious misunderstanding of our position on the part of Non-Congregationalists. We cannot engage in ecumenical debate at any level without becoming aware of this. Again and again we find it necessary to insist that Congregationalists are trinitarian and evangelical Christians, and that our liberty of thought is a freedom within the historic faith and not from it. Although we have never imposed credal tests on our people, we have from time to time put out statements like this one concerning the things most surely believed among us.

The historical introduction is very valuable indeed, and together with the "affirmations" that follow, makes an excellent text for ministers to expound to our people. Such an exposition is badly needed. Congregationalists need it, and it is quite certain that the Ecumenical Movement needs it. It is not too much to say that the whole question of Reunion would appear in a very different light if Congregationalists were really Congregationalists and Non-Congregationalists really understood what Congregationalism is all about. H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

Vacant Possession: Thoughts on Personality, Religion and Education. GEOFFREY L. HEAWOOD. 143 pp. S.C.M. 8s. 6d.

The Moral Conduct of a Christian. LINDSAY DEWAR. 130 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Vacant Possession contains the reflections of the Headmaster of Cheltenham Grammar School on the prospect of communicating religious truth and affection in the religious work of schools. It is written from experience, and impresses the reader with its wisdom. The book contains two sections (1) a realistic and discriminating appraisal of the difficulty of teaching positive Christian convictions in the schools of a community which is confused and divided as to the main issues; (2)

a presentation of the meaning of religion, Christianity, Churchmanship, theology and philosophy in terms which are persuasive to the uncertain and the genuinely doubting. Mr. Heawood has of course his particular church loyalty and some particular theological opinions which not all will share; but he is remarkably free from *a priori* dogmatisms, and his book is to be warmly commended.

Canon Dewar's book on *The Moral Conduct of a Christian* constrasts oddly with the preceeding one. Its values are quite different: they are those of clarity and definiteness. If a Christian, confused with the present moral uncertainty, wants guidance and will put himself under Canon Dewar's direction, he will be given clear and distinct ideas whose meanings are quite definite, and whose content is, broadly speaking, reliable Christian truth. He does not attempt to persuade the uncertain or to make allowances for those who would differ on particular terms; in particular, he does not explain in terms satisfactory to the moral philosopher why and in what sense the foundation of moral conduct is to be found in the will of God. But the book gives clear and definite guidance, and many will find it extremely useful. H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

The Kingdom of the Real by Nicodemus (176 pp., Lutterworth, 15s.) is a profound and beautifully written study of St. John chapters 1-4 and 6. The Evangelist's main purpose, it is held, was to free the Gospel from its Jewish setting and illustrate its universal character. Occasionally the argument is strained, e.g., when the woman in ch. 4 is treated as typical womanhood; sometimes the imagination is too uncontrolled; and there is too much of the contrast between professor and poet, logic and life, in favour of the latter. But there is real philosophy of experience here even if it needs scrutiny by the colder logic of those who suspect intuition and existentialism. Nicodemus does in fact admit that existentialism's attempt to read the secrets of experience needs metaphysics as its proper complement. Flesh and Spirit, temporal and eternal, *eros* and *agape* are complementary, not contrasted; in Christ is a factor which resolves the antinomy. He is "the Man in men", and introduces his own to "aeonian" life, where evil is left behind and temporality transcended.

We commend heartily *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* by C. V. Pilcher, Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney (Lutterworth, 1s. 6d.). There are 10 pages of Introduction and 40 pages of excellent free translation which really does interpret the epistle. It reads well. It breaks up Paul's long sentences and paraphrases where the sequence of thought is obscure.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

The *International Bible Reading Association* issues its *Notes* in six different booklets, three for the young people (ages 7-11, 12-14, and over 14) and three for adults (Hints, Notes, Studies). In this country alone 300,000 people use the booklets. It is not surprising when their quality is examined. A distinguished newcomer to the team of writers is Dr. John Marsh who writes the Daily Bible Studies.

Cannibals Come to Town (Livingstone Press, Paper, 1s. 6d.) by L. Hurst is a factual introduction to Papua. The land, the people, past, present, missions and government are all treated in turn: and the facts are fascinating. With its 10 brief chapters it would make an excellent book for a study circle with fortnightly meetings during the winter.

The first "Broadway Special" from the Livingstone Press is *None Other Name* by A. S. Herbert (Paper, 1s. 6d.). It consists of the four lectures given at Swanwick in 1950. One is not surprised that when the members

heard that the lectures would be published they cheered again and again. Here our missionary purpose is firmly based on the missionary purpose of God, traced through the Bible and revealed as integral to our Faith. One word of warning. To read this searching utterance is not only to be convinced of the rightness of what is being done: it is also to be challenged to do more.

Christ—Power and Peacemaker by Hugh Faulkner (F.o.R., 6d.) is a disturbing pacifist pamphlet, disturbing because it makes debatable claims for the scope of Christ's mission (p.1), gives a libellous account of Roman rule (p.2) and makes exaggerated claims for the wisdom and power of the Early Church (p. 4). This is bound to shake one's faith in the writer's judgment about the modern situation and the application of the Gospel to it.

It is never the wrong time to draw attention to the *Concise Guides* edited once again by Ernest H. Hayes (Religious Education Press). With one of these before him no Sunday School teacher need lack adequate help. Beginners, Primary, Junior, Senior and Young People, each group is provided for in an annual volume (Beginners, 5s., the rest 6s. each). With the Guides go the *Scholars' Papers* for Beginners, Primary and Juniors. These attractive leaflets are useful for handwork and form a message for the child to take home (R.E.P., 6d. per Qr.). JOHN WILDING.

Great South African Christians (190 pp., O.U.P., 12s. 6d) by Dr. Horton Davies consists of 19 sketches of outstanding men and one woman, European, Boer and Bantu in the history of the Christian church in South Africa. Some of them like Livingstone, Moffat and Andrew Murray are universally known; the others deserve to be. Courage, devotion and faith are here splendidly portrayed in this significant mingling of nations and races, and we cannot be reminded too often that the most majestic 'movements' in civilization and religion are made up of the life histories of dedicated men and women. In this Christian passion for the souls of men we have, if we could but use it, the power to break down the walls of partition that separate nations and races. Ministers, teachers and young people will be especially grateful for this book. J. M. PHILLIPS.

The Christian Mission. By MAX WARREN. 128 pp. S.C.M., 7s. 6d., and R.B.C., 3s.

Florence Allshorn. By J. H. OLDHAM. 168 pp. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

The Hall of Light By W. E. SOOTHILL. 289 pp. Lutterworth. 25s.

These three volumes are fruits of the mission-field. The first is the work of an administrator, the second a biography of a splendid woman missionary, and the third is a learned contribution to the field of the comparative study of religion by the late Professor Soothill who came to his Chair of Chinese in Oxford by way of a missionary vocation.

The General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Canon Max Warren, offers another brief but admirably relevant *apologia* for Christian Missions. In *The Christian Mission* he emphasizes the horizontal as well as vertical necessity for Christian groups in our twentieth-century society that must be saved from both totalitarianism and nihilism. His carefully-argued and abundantly-illustrated chapters are enlivened by citations from leading sociologists. This is as heartening a book as it is relevant.

Florence Allshorn and the story of St. Julian's, from the acute but self-effacing pen of Dr. J. H. Oldham, is the story of a woman who was both Mary and Martha in herself from the days when she was trained in domestic

science and art. Her greatest gift was the creation of harmonious personal relationships, while respecting the individuality and integrity of the individuals who came under her gay yet holy influence. This made her a successful missionary in Uganda, a revered head of St. Andrew's College for Anglican women missionaries, and the founder of the Community of St. Julian's. Florence Allshorn wished to redeem all Christians from mediocrity and she combined the unusual traits of humility and unorthodoxy of manner. She was a living refutation of the common caricature of a missionary as a narrow fanatic and Philistine, uninterested in music, art or natural beauty. Dr. Oldham introduces her in such a way as to make her story a testimonial to the influence of Jesus Christ on one gifted woman of the twentieth century who lived by the law of love.

The Hall of Light, a study in early Chinese kingship, is the literary legacy of the late Professor Soothill, presented by his daughter, Lady Hosie, and Mr. G. F. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls. The subject of kingship is of peculiar interest in a century which has treated kings in the manner that the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland* treated her refractory subjects. The tracing of the origins of kingship in China has a special fascination in a Chinese setting, for in that country kingship had the longest continuous history as an institution: over four thousand years, in fact. The reader is given a most learned but lively account of the ritual and beliefs of the early priest-kings of China. It is shown that the Confucian and Taoist belief in the moral order of the cosmos derives ultimately from the ceremonial and its underlying beliefs of the Ming T'ang. Professor Soothill says, "The Ming T'ang is the oldest expression of China's discovery that man dwells in a cosmos. It is a symbol of the conviction that law dominates the universe, that man's prime duty is to accord with that law, and for its harmonious working man's part is essential" (p. 68). The author claims that his researches prove important parallels between the development of kingship in the Far East and in Western Europe.

HORTON DAVIES.

Teaching Scripture: a Book on Method. By MARGARET AVERY. Religious Education Press. 192 pp. 6s.

Project Work in Religious Education. By R. L. ARUNDALE. Religious Education Press. 96 pp. 4s. 6d.

The Quality of Learning. By RONALD MORRIS. Methuen. 107 pp. 7s. 6d.

The growing interest taken in methods of religious education is altogether to be welcomed. There is a good deal of lee-way to be made up, and it will be a long time before all teachers of Scripture in day or Sunday schools are as well equipped as, say, teachers of geography or mathematics. We still have to rely on the enthusiastic amateur, and will have to do so for some time to come.

Miss Avery is well-known as an experienced teacher of Scripture and her book is an excellent little manual of classroom practice. It is full of useful tips, and even where her methods seem rather naïve, as they are at times, they are suggestive of improvements. She is at her best when dealing with younger children and she is concerned primarily with the individual lesson rather than with the course.

Mr. Arundale is already known for his book on religious education in the Senior School. This book concerns the method of "projects", illustrated by a project on "healing". It is very thoroughly worked out down to the last detail, and gives an excellent idea of this particular approach to teaching. It is most interesting and readable, but one is left with the feeling that it is a little elementary for grammar school children, and also with

a doubt whether it is particularly "religious". However, it represents one method among many and it has its place.

Mr. Morris's book sustains a very interesting thesis which deserves careful study. It is commonly held that dull children have not the capacity to be anything more than drudges, doing not necessarily the menial work but at any rate the automatic routine and unimaginative work. Mr. Morris denies this and holds that what matters is not the content of the education they receive but its quality. It is not only what we learn but how we learn and, given the approach suitable to the particular intelligence of the child, the so-called dull child can in his own way make good.

A. Victor Murray.

I'll Praise my Maker: Studies in Classical Hymnody. By Eric Routley. 280 pp. Independent Press. 15s.

Popular Hymns and their Writers. By Norman Mable. 215 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

When the day comes to compile a historical companion to *Congregational Praise* Mr. Erik Routley will be found to be just the man to write it. He has all the various necessary qualifications—a wide knowledge of hymns and hymn-writers, a perhaps even greater knowledge of tunes, experience as an organist and a certain youthful gusto which makes everything that he writes both interesting and provocative. This book before us is a kind of *hors d'oeuvres* to such a work.

Mr. Routley has chosen five leading authors (Doddridge, Cowper, Newton, Montgomery and Conder) and six others, all of whom are said to "stand in or near the tradition of English Calvinism, 1700-1850", and he examines their works from this angle. In the process he has revived and quoted at length a good many hymns which have sunk out of fashion but which admirably justify his point of view. His comments are always fresh and suggestive. It is curious, however, that he should be loud in his praise of "There is a fountain filled with blood" (even before editing by Dr. Micklem), and should deprecate "God moves in a mysterious way". There are varying moods of the soul and it can hardly be expected that the "full gospel" should be proclaimed in every hymn any more than in every sermon. This judgment, however, indicates the provocative nature of the book. It ought to lead to lively and profitable discussion.

Mr. Mable's book is of a different kind. It is an unpretentious popular little volume full of excellent stories concerning the works of about two hundred authors. For hymnologists it is "Julian in petticoats" but for writers of sermons and children's addresses and for young people themselves it is all that they need as a historical background to the hymn-writers of the Church. Mr. Mable does not decry tradition. He accepts the story of the origin of "Rock of Ages" which Mr. Routley finds very doubtful.

A. Victor Murray.

Prayers and Services for Christian Festivals. By James M. Todd. 182 pp. Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.

How many of my generation entered the ministry, as I did, without any instruction received as to the manner in which a Communion Service or even ordinary Public Worship may best be conducted! We knew nothing of our own Puritan tradition and were only sure that we must not approve of Anglican or Roman ways; but when we became dissatisfied with the current practices of late Victorian Dissenting usage, many knew no better than to turn for public and private worship to the booklets and piety of these very different traditions; the confusion was not unto edification or

aesthetic beauty. We are being delivered from all that, and how much here we owe to Mr. James Todd of Great Yarmouth, who not only was editor-in-chief of that admirable Directory *A Book of Public Worship*, based upon sound liturgical scholarship and sure Reformed doctrine, but has now also given us *Prayers and Services for Christian Festivals*. I have found it, so far, excellent in the using. This book, like the other, is not a substitute for the minister's preparation of the Service, but it offers welcome help and guidance. As we follow this lead in freedom and with understanding, we shall hope to learn how to recover for ourselves and adapt to the needs of the new age the great spiritual tradition of our fathers.

N. MICKLEM.

Sing Praises: 100 Services for the Infants Assembly. By Miss J. M. MACDOUGALL FERGUSON. 128 pp. Religious Education Press. 7s. 6d.

The purpose of this book is to provide forms of worship for small children making use not only of prayers and hymns but also of instrumental and recorded music. The hymns are chiefly in the "Child Songs" tradition with heavy emphasis on created nature. At the end of the book a small selection of additional hymns is provided, many of which are original. We entirely deplore the antiquated musical style of the new tunes and are surprised to see a very well known tune of Monk (p. 116) marked "Source unknown". The intention is obviously good, but the original material is below the standard which we ought to require for young children.

ERIK ROUTLEY.

Negro Spirituals, 120 Songs with tonic sol-fa music. Edited by ALEXANDER SANDILANDS. 158 pp. Morija Sesuto Book Depot, Morija, Basutoland, S. Africa.

Even for those to whom sol-fa notation is a stumbling block, this book is to be warmly recommended for its judicious selection of Spirituals, for the discreet arrangements which Mr. Sandilands has provided, and for the fascinating and authoritative introduction; this introduction in 14 pages provides much valuable information on the history and the music of the Spirituals. The book is designed for Africans, but it is to be greatly hoped that a wide circulation in this country and in America will achieve for it one of its subsidiary ideals—the reclamation of the Spiritual from concert-hall sentimentality and its restoration to an honoured place in Christian devotion. The book is obtainable in England from the Livingstone Press, 42, Broadway, London, S.W.1, price 7s. 6d. ERIK ROUTLEY.

The Cactus Hedge. By PHILIP INCLEDON. 157 pp. The Saville Press, Windsor. 7s. 6d.

Fine characterization, good words, deep thoughts, even the portrayal of love and devotion and self-sacrifice, do not make a religious play. There must be a plot or a problem stated and solved. There is neither here. Mr. Philip Incledon sets his action in a mountain village on the border between Algeria and Tunisia during the Tunisian campaign of 1942/43. With 43 characters, comprising British, French, Italians, Arabs and Germans, monks, soldiers and civilians, the play runs through five Acts with elaborate settings. There is no great hatred portrayed, but there is great love, particularly between an Arab boy and an English Paratroop sergeant. There are petty annoyances and big annoyances and man's reactions to them. There is life lived for the moment and life lived at great depth. All this is well done, but in far too leisurely and discursive a way, so that the "better" life seems but a foible of man which neither challenges nor persuades. The date of Act 2 should read 1943, not 1942.

JASON S. WRIGHT.

MISCELLANEA

A. J. Mundella 1825-1897: The Liberal Background to the Labour Movement. By W. H. G. Armytage. Benn. 30s.

The name of Mundella is far less honoured and remembered than it deserves to be. This well-written biography recalls his personal vision and industry and reminds us of the debt the twentieth century owes to the Liberalism of the nineteenth. The price will set it beyond the pockets of many, but it ought to go on all library lists and cannot be ignored by students of social and industrial history.

English born, of Italian extraction, this enterprising Nottingham stocking manufacturer, parliamentary representative for Sheffield 1868-97, social reformer and politician, by his concern and vision unwittingly laid the foundations for the Labour Movement. President of the Board of Trade in the third and fourth Gladstone administrations, thus taking up the work of John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, Mundella has to his credit many notable advances. Not merely in the setting up of trade Arbitration and Conciliation Boards, but in formulating legislation affecting compulsory education, technical and secondary schools and colleges (notably two University Colleges for Wales and the Royal School of Mines), Factory and Workshop Acts, Child Labour, women in industry, the position and powers of Trade Unions, regulations affecting cattle and fisheries, and so forth, Mundella "led a very noble life, and all that he could do, he did. . . . He was always on the side of just and loving causes, and he never lost his ideals" (Stopford Brooke).

To the Congregational reader a special interest attaches to the citation of so many names of Mundella's colleagues and supporters, including Henry Allon, R. W. Dale, Frank Lenwood, Enoch Mellor, J. W. Pye-Smith, Titus Salt, W. T. Stead and Benjamin Waugh—thus calling attention to the part played by the nonconformist Liberals, and not least ministers, of that half-century of 'Concern'. It is good also to find reference to *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,* inspired by Andrew Mearns, then Secretary of the London Congregational Union, though written by William Carnall Preston of Hull (whose son still ministers among us). This pamphlet not only gave a new impetus to London Congregational Missions but furnished Mundella with 'texts' for advocating amendment of the laws relating to parental responsibility.

The sections dealing with the Education Acts, notably Mundella's difficulties with the supporters of 'Voluntary' Schools and their eligibilty for State aid, and Conscience Clauses, can be read with profit in an era when these topics raise their heads anew. The provision of cheap meals for schoolchildren; the advocacy of decentralization in educational administration and the struggle with monopolies; the problems of women in industry and consequent neglect of homes and children; the decay of craftsmanship and the neglect of apprenticeships; the rights, powers and limitations of trade associations and labour unions vis-à-vis one another and society at large, all provide stimulating thought for this present time.

This book is warmly to be commended and contains much information not to be found in standard social and industrial history text-books, some drawn from Mundella's private papers recently bequeathed to Sheffield University where Mr. Armytage teaches. Charles E. Surman.

Christianity in European History. By HERBERT BUTTERFIELD. 63 pp. O.U.P. 5s.

Those who are familiar with Professor Butterfield's earlier books will welcome the publication of his three Riddell Memorial Lectures given in the University of Durham. While philosophers in our time seem to be deprecating the influence of Christianity as a system of thought the historians seem to be moving in the opposite direction and emphasizing its influence as the most powerful factor in European history. Mr. Butterfield's lectures are most heartening to read. In all of them he shows how right through the centuries western civilization has been moulded in this way. In the last lecture on "History, Religion and Ethics" he gives a warning against the all too frequent attempts in our day to marshal the Christian forces against Communism according to a strategy learned from the enemy. He wants instead "a powerful affirmation of the spiritual side of life". A. VICTOR MURRAY.

Disabled Citizens. By JOAN SIMEON CLARKE. 237 pp. Allen & Unwin. 16s.

The author was one of Lord Beveridge's two Research Assistants when he was conducting the Inquiry into Voluntary Social Services which provided the material for his *Voluntary Action*. This fact and Lord Beveridge's Foreward would guarantee that the work is competent even if it did not in itself carry the irresistible impression of authority. The book covers a great deal of ground in dealing with most classes of physically disabled people except the blind. (Those suffering from mental disabilities —neuroses and psychoses—are not within the scope of this work). The account given by Mrs. Clarke is at once inspiring and disturbing. It is inspiring because, as Lord Beveridge says, "it shows how the human spirit can triumph over apparently overwhelming physical infirmities". It is disturbing because it shatters all complacency. Especially in these days of the Welfare State we too easily suppose that everything which needs to be done is being done. In fact, we discover that treatment is not yet available for great numbers who need it, and the statistics, with which the book is plentifully supplied, tell again and again of patients waiting for admission to special schools or hospitals. When these cold figures are translated into terms of human frustration and suffering, the picture is indeed a sad one. The reader repeatedly gets the impression that America is far ahead of us. The book will be invaluable to social workers dealing with particular types of disabled citizens, but it will also be of great use to ministers and others who have opportunities of helping the disabled, and not less their relatives and friends, to become properly adjusted to handicaps.

Second Sight in Daily Life. By W. H. W. SABINE. 208 pp. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

Those who are looking for a collection of sensational examples of "second sight" will be well advised to leave this book alone. Certainly there are plenty of stories in it, but in the main they are not sensational, nor do they need to be, for, as the author rightly claims, when instances "relate to the little things of life they are just as evidential as when they relate to something more important from a purely mundane point of view". The evidence consists largely of precognitive experiences which the writer has recorded from his own life, and, if one sometimes feels that he deduces too much from them, there is no doubt about his honesty. In Mr. Sabine's view precognition "whether waking or sleeping, is in essence a prior intimation of *later sense perceptions*" (p. 177; italics mine). In the concluding chapter he suggests his own explanation. The book is well written and is a serious contribution to the subject. Readers who are looking for light entertainment will be disappointed, for it is not always easy reading,

but the real student of mental phenomena will work through it with interest.

You And Your Nerves. By H. GUNTRIP. 195 pp. Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

It would be difficult to conceive a more useful popular work on psychology. The book consists of an expanded version of a series of talks given in the B.B.C.'s "Silver Lining" programme. It is not popular in the sense of being superficial. Indeed, one cannot imagine anything superficial coming from Mr. Guntrip; his mind is too penetrating and thorough. It is popular in the sense that it puts unfamiliar and sometimes profound ideas into words that any ordinarily intelligent person can grasp. Behind this simplicity there is wide reading, though scholarship is never paraded. The book is, however, based not on reading but on many years of experience in dealing with troubled minds, first as a minister, and, more recently, as a full-time psychotherapist. ("I know Mr. Guntrip to be a psychotherapist of long experience and great skill" is the tribute in the Foreword by Dr. D. R. MacCalman, Nuffield Professor of Psychiatry, Leeds University, in whose Department Mr. Guntrip works.) Not the least of the author's qualifications is that he understands what real religion is, and is therefore able to relate psychology to it. While exposing immature types of religion, he shows how a true faith in God can help sufferers, not to escape their problems, but to face them. Perhaps this was the most helpful thing he did for his vast, unseen audience, as it may well be for the thousands who will read and benefit from his book. Ministers will do well to read it themselves and to recommend it to some of the sufferers from "nerves" whom they encounter, alas, so often. L. J. TIZARD.

British Honduras. By S. L. CAIGER. 240 pp. Allen & Unwin. 18s.

This is a well-balanced and very competent work. It recounts the history of British Honduras since its discovery in the early sixteenth century till the present day, setting both history and present problems into their wider contexts. The early chapters give a fascinating account of the buccaneers and first settlers against a background of the tension between Spain and our own maritime adventurers. The early struggles of colonization are described, the story unfolding until it merges into the present situation. That situation is examined with insight and without bias, and in such a way that illumination is thrown on the basic problems of colonial administration and the maintenance of sound inter-relationships within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The difficulties of recent years are dealt with impartially and factually, and the conclusion can hardly be avoided that colonial administration during the past fifty years leaves us little of which to be proud. The problems have admittedly been grave ones; but our handling of them has too often betrayed incompetence or negligence in dealing alike with the human, economic and natural aspects. Honduras is a country of great fertility. Surely our vaunted agricultural science could have done better for this colony than to have allowed the pitiable decline in natural production detailed on page 176. Accurate description is of greater value than polemic; this book disturbs our complacency concerning colonial administration the more so because it was not written with any such aim in view. It is true that during the last year or two these problems as a whole have received greater attention, and conditions in British Honduras are already definitely improving. For this we must be thankful, though we can hardly feel undue complacency just yet.

Let no one ignore this book on the grounds that British Honduras cannot be more than a small and uninteresting corner of the Empire. As a piece of history the book is fascinating and informative. It is equally valuable in providing data for an appraisal of administrative responsibility and its recent discharge. A. R. VINE.

The Year Book of Education, 1951. Edited by J. A. LAUWERYS and N. HANS. 674 pp. Evans Bros. 63s.

If any man would understand the thought world in which we live today and its difference from that of yesterday, he could not do better than make an intensive study of this massive volume. The term "Year Book" is misleading, for like all its predecessors it is a volume of essays on some general theme of education. This year's volume is concerned with moral and religious education and no publication could be more timely. It takes into its scope not only different countries—the British Isles and the English-speaking world (including two excellent articles on the U.S.A. and Canada), five Continental countries (the article on Spain being the only anonymous article in the book), the Far East and Africa—but also different religious traditions—Christianity, Islam, Judaism and the Eastern religions. Moreover, there are five summary articles dealing with the situation as a whole from the point of view respectively of an anthoropologist, a humanist, a psycho-analyst, a sociologist and a Communist, with a general article by the editors. This opening article sets the scene for all the rest and the editors' excusion into theology is most interesting. The religious provenance of the chief editor is Belgian Roman Catholicism and he clearly views both moral and religious education as a matter of following certain rules which in the case of religion have been "revealed". Strangely enough the article on Anglicanism appears to take the same line. The sole representative of Anglicanism is Canon Lindsay Dewar, an Anglo-Catholic, who gives us a commentary on the Ten Commandments as "a compendium of moral instruction" which Christ "took over" from the Jewish *Torah*. Dr. M. C. D'Arcy's article on Roman Catholicism strikes a much deeper note. Protestantism is represented solely by two articles, one on Calvinism by J. W. D. Smith and one on Lutheranism by a Swede—both of them admirable historical theses with little or no connection with our present problem. Basil Yeaxlee in an enormously long article retrieves the situation somewhat in another context but Miss Phyllis Doyle of Manchester really comes to grips with the problem in a very well-written and disturbing chapter on "Religion and Morals in England". No solution is offered. The editors appear to feel that all these various traditions can jog along quite nicely side by side. This, however, does not take away from the great value of the book as a "documentary" of the first class.

A. VICTOR MURRAY.

The Introspective Listener. By MAGDA KELBER. 107 pp. James Clarke. 7s. 6d.

This is a remarkable little book, written by an amateur of music for amateurs. It seeks to guide music-lovers into the right way of listening by referring them to its author's own experience. Some of its chapter headings are: "Good Listening", "Developments in Listening", "Listening Problems", "The Centred Mind". Much of the book, as its title implies (it is not a very good title), is too subjective to allow much detailed criticism. The reviewer finds himself wholly in sympathy with the chapters on the technique of listening, and wholly doubtful about that on "Psychological types in Music", being himself unable, even at the author's request, to excuse bad playing on the ground that the player's interpretation is predestined by his psychological "type". But in many places the book suggests more than it says, and starts interesting trains of thought. We hope the author will go on from her last chapter at some future time in pursuing the analogy between musical and religious experience; though we do not guarantee that when she does she will keep on the rails of orthodoxy.

ERIK ROUTLEY.

Mr. Gilbert Thomas's *Selected Poems* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) have been chosen from the work of 40 years. Mr. Thomas is one of those rare and fortunate poets whose poems "fall ready-made into the mind". They are traditional in form and diction, disdaining neither rhyme nor reason, and all of them are composed in regular metres. They range in mood from very grave to gay, and in subject from prayers and religious meditations to such *jeux d'esprit* as the humorous, if rueful, "Ballade of a Publisher's Reader". Poet, essayist and biographer, Mr. Thomas is also a writer on model railways, and the long poem in this collection entitled "Nostalgia" will delight all lovers of the locomotive who regret the increasing standardization of our railways.

Mr. Stephen Hobhouse's autobiography, *Forty Years and an Epilogue* (James Clarke, 12s. 6d.), contains enough of the raw material of experience to fill several volumes. Born in 1881, heir to a distinguished name and a great estate, Mr. Hobhouse was educated at Eton and Balliol. While still at Oxford, at the age of 21, his whole outlook was transformed by the chance reading of Tolstoy's *My Confession*. He abandoned his landed inheritance and became a member of the Society of Friends. Thereafter, among other things, he lived in a Hoxton tenement, served among Turkish refugees, worked as a jobbing gardener, and edited the mystical writings of William Law and Jacob Boehme. But the most remarkable part of this autobiography is the author's account of his life in Exeter Gaol and Wormwood Scrubs, where, as an uncompromising pacifist, he was confined for a year during the first World War. Of this terrible experience he writes with exemplary moderation and charity. Mr. Hobhouse knew Mansfield under Fairbairn, and among his many tributes to friends and counsellors, none is warmer than that paid to Frank Lenwood.

Anyone in doubt as to how to dispose of a book token should consider the merits of the New Oxford Illustrated Dickens. This series is as remarkable for the excellence of its production as for its cheapness. Two more volumes have just been issued. *The Old Curiosity Shop* (O.U.P., 10s. 6d.) has the author's Preface and an Introduction by the Earl of Wicklow. Though so well-known, this novel is not, assuredly, the greatest Dickens, but it contains in Quilp one of the best of his villains, and in "the small servant", alias "the Marchioness", one of the most delightful children not merely in Dickens but in literature. *Martin Chuzzlewit* (O.U.P., 12s. 6d.) has an Introduction by Geoffrey Russell and contains 40 of the original drawings by Phiz rendered from new blocks. The standard volumes are in light brown cloth covers, but they are also available in blue leather at a somewhat higher price. Mr. Aubrey West's *Written by Hand* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) is an introduction to calligraphy written by an amateur for amateurs. Mr. West's aim is as practical as it is praiseworthy. He quotes Rober Bridges, ". . . illegibility in writing is a wider breach of good manners than indistinct utterance in talking". The text is indigestible: it is difficult, if not impossible, to cram the long history of handwriting into a score or so of pages without overwhelming the novice under a cataract of names and dates. But the book is redeemed by its author's enthusiasm and by the number and quality of its illustrations. The last section gives specimens of some 36 fine hands from Queen Elizabeth I's to that evolved in a modern junior village school. P. A. SPALDING.

Issues for World Freedom (Liberal Publications Dept., 1s. 6d.) has five lectures recently delivered, all worth reading, by M. Paul Henri Spaak and other authorities. *The British Tradition* (Mowbray, 3s. 6d.) consists of reprinted radio talks, good but necessarily brief. *Christian Modernism and other Faiths* (Union of Modern Free Churchmen, 1s.) by Rev. Arthur Peacock is the Chairman's address to the U.M.F.C. J. M. P.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

International Review of Missions consists mainly of the editorial survey of the year, of which it need only be said that it has become indispensible. Professor T. E. Jessop writes freshly on 'Modern Man's Basic Need', and Rev. R. A. Blasdell is good on 'Renaissance in Malaya'.

Hibbert Journal. Sir John Stewart-Wallace writes on the unity of the mystics of all faiths; Mr. Emile Marmortsein in 'Conquering Faiths' discusses the struggle between the great monotheistic faiths and the political faiths, Nationalism and Communism; Rev. G. Randall Jones in 'The Main Stream of the Christian Tradition' pleads for the recognition of the claim of all who believe themselves prompted by the Holy Spirit and 'whose ideas stand the test of reason'; Mr. Gurston Goldin is interesting on 'Jericho: the Archeological Problem'; Dr. Peter Munz in 'Sum qui sum' discusses the breakdown of Hegelianism and the present interest in Kierkegaard; Rev. J. Heywood Thomas on 'The Idea of Creation', Mr. Bernhard Mollenhauer on 'The Horizons of the Occidental Mind' and Mr. Geoffrey Bowker on 'The Problem of the Good Profane' are all good. There are shorter papers by Dr. Arthur E. Bell and Mr. A. Van Eyken.

The Friends Quarterly continues to direct the attention of readers to the relation of Friends to the Ecumenical Movement, missionary enterprise and the secular world revolutionary movements. It includes 'An Attempted Assessment of the Friends' Visit to the Soviet Union' by Miss Kathleen Lonsdale; 'Pre-Christian Ideas of God among the Malagasey'' by Miss Kari Mason; and 'The Full and the Hungry', the present concern of German Friends.

Baptist Quarterly. Apart from a paper on 'Mathew Arnold's Theology' by Miss Jean A. Smallbone this number is mainly of denominational and local interest. Mr. Kenneth Hyde continues the story of the Union church at Launceston; Dr. Ernest Payne writes on 'More about the Sabbatarian Baptists', and Rev. G. W. Rusling on 'Baptist Beginnings at Malvern'. There is an interesting note on Baptist churches in France.

Church Quarterly Review (July-September, 1951). In 'Two Reactions to Gnosticism' Rev. H. A. Blair discusses Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria; in 'The Christian Interpretation of History' Rev. B. M. G. Reardon is timely and helpful. The 'Supremacy of a Christian Philosophy' is a long and valuable article by Dr. Norman Adcock. Rev. E. E. Elliot-Binns writes on 'The Evangelical Tradition'; Miss A. Graham Ikin on 'Archetypes, Idols and the Living God'; and Rev. G. Lacey May on 'The Catholicity of the Psalter'.

Evangelical Review (October, 1951). 'Philip Doddridge and the Evangelical Revival of Eighteenth Century' is a worthy contribution to the tributes which marked the recent bi-centenary celebrations; Dr. Cornelius Jaarsma writes on 'The Christian View of the School Curriculum'; Rev. John Watson on 'The Holy Spirit and the Bible'; Dr. Alfred Marshall asks 'Did Christ pay our Debts?'; and Rev. John MacInnes reminds us of the 'Duty of Religious Conference'.

London Quarterly and Holborn Review. Dr. W. F. Howard writes a valuable 'Survey of N.T. Studies during half a century 1901-1950'; Rev. E. La Mothe Stowell on 'Revelation and Christian Faith'; Rev. W. S. Handley Jones on Religion and Literature'; Dr. R. F. Wearmouth on 'George Edwards'. In the section given to The Church Overseas Rev. N. Carr Sargant continues his discussion of 'Calvinists, Arminians and Missions'. There are good short papers on 'Faith, Freedom and Power' by Dr. C. J. Wright, and on 'Communism' by Dr. W. F. Lofthouse.

Review of Religion (November, 1951, Columbia University Press) has a long article on 'Creative Quiet' by Professor Nicholas Arseniev which is worth much trouble to seek out, as indeed must be everything he writes. The second article 'The Blessing of the Sower' is also distinguished. The Book Reviews and Notes maintain the accustomed high standard.

Huntington Library Quarterly (November, 1951). Professor W. F. Marquardt discusses "the unaccountable neglect" of the influence of Boccalini in Engand in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Mr. Godfrey Davies is interesting on 'The Seamy side of Malborough's War'. Notes and Documents include 'Policies in Parliaments', a seventeenth century tractate on House of Commons procedure by Professor Catherine S. Sims; Dr. Wendall Glick on Thoreau; Professor James L. Woodress on James Russell Lowell; and Professor Norman Jeffares on Yeat's 'The Gyres'.

J. Mills Phillips.